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ABSTRACT

A review of the operations of the Children's Television Workshop (CTW), the producer of Sesame Street and The Electric Company, is presented. The objective is to illustrate the organizational principles which CTW used to provide leadership, develop functional relationships among the various segments of a large-scale enterprise, and to harness research to creative ends; the underlying assumption is that these principles can be successfully applied to other situations. The report first presents a summary and overview of the entire CTW project and then describes how CTW met a national need. Management of a creative endeavor, the role of the professional advisor and the use of research for program building are next discussed. Program production and financial administration are treated, along with the importance of audience participation, the efforts of CTW to reach the disadvantaged, and the process of getting the programs on the air. Current and future sources of funding are examined and the final chapter offers some comments on the Workshop in a fuller perspective. Key features of the CTW approach are described in the resume of another document--ED 066 029. (PB)

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SESAME STREET

THE CHILDREN'S TELEVISION WORKSHOP
how and why it works

NASSAU BOARD OF COOPERATIVE EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
Research and Development Division
Nassau Regional Office for Educational Planning

IR 000 001

Joan Ganz Cooney,
with muppet friends,
Ernie and Bert.

ED 086203

THE CHILDREN'S TELEVISION WORKSHOP
how and why it works

Consultant: HERMAN W. LAND

"The Children's Television Workshop" is the producer of
"SESAME STREET"
"THE ELECTRIC COMPANY"

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PREFACE

From the outset the Children's Television Workshop has been sprinkled with stardust. By some quirk of fortune, the germ of the idea first infected a young man dedicated professionally and personally to the advancement of children's education and who fortuitously occupied a position in society that proved the ideal vantage point from which to launch the effort—the vice-presidency of a major foundation with a deep commitment to educational research and development. He had also observed his 3-year-old daughter watching TV test patterns as though hypnotized! At that very moment there became available an unusually competent young woman with solid television experience and an admirable combination of intelligence, judgment, social concern and administrative instinct—Mrs. Joan Ganz Cooney. The enterprise itself was born of a conversation at dinner in the home of Mrs. Cooney, a conversation stimulated additionally by the imaginative input of one of the most vigorous creative practitioners in public television, the drama producer, Lewis Freedman.

It was a time of growing concern among educators and sociologists over the educational deprivation of America's 12 million preschoolers and widespread dissatisfaction with the television fare that had been fed to these millions of young eyes and ears for two decades.

The original concept was almost universally applauded from the beginning by those who had given serious thought to the use of television as a national educational resource.

To many of those in the Workshop who lived through the experience and who now find themselves part of a television and educational success whose degree none truly anticipated, the factors that came so auspiciously together represent a unique historical circumstance that is fundamentally not repeatable.

Others argue that the organizational principles, at least, can be applied elsewhere, regardless of the scale of the enterprise. The author tends to lean toward the latter view. Patterns of organization, carefully thought out in the earliest period of development of the concept, have proved valid in practice—a set of relationships between departments and a concept of leadership together with a well developed, now-proven technique for harnessing research to creative ends. This last represents one of the great practical accomplishments of the Workshop experiment. It is difficult to envision any major television-education undertaking from this point on which will not incorporate as an essential element the concept of the integration of production and research into one self-correcting creative effort.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that the features of the Workshop model can be directly and simply imitated or mechanically applied. Whatever may be true in other fields, identical replication is a naive concept in a field where talent and the intangibles of the creative life are finally the determining factors. Therefore, the experience of the Workshop is best examined in the hope that some useful principles of organization and approach can be derived which will be helpful in assisting others who are attempting to achieve in a similar vein. But these principles should serve only to help direct thinking and suggest basic patterns of operation.

If the reader detects some element of bias in favor of the Children's Television Workshop, let him be forewarned that this is no accident. As executive, editor and consultant, the author has had the opportunity to see many organizations at work in broadcasting, and has been part of some. It is difficult for him to recall its equal, let alone its superior. A thread of sanity runs through the organization. In a field which not infrequently suffers from rampant egomania, the CTW stands out for its professionalism and objective management. It is a management dedicated to the achievement of a social goal through rational ends. It works.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

An author's gratitude and appreciation to:

All those in and outside the Children's Television Workshop who patiently submitted to lengthy and revealing conversational explorations;

The CTW's management and staff, beginning with Mrs. Joan Ganz Cooney, for their accessibility and candor; with a special nod to corporate secretary and presidential assistant, Mr. Robert Davidson, and his able associate, Mrs. Lynne de Vries, for their generalship in steering the project through the maze of a dynamic and busy organization;

The National Center for Educational Technology of the United States Office of Education, sponsors of the study, particularly the project officer, Dr. Lawrence L. Atherton, and his colleague, Miss Jeanne Davis, for their support and encouragement;

The Nassau Board of Cooperative Educational Services (BOCES), New York, whose Research and Development Division-Nassau Regional Office for Educational Planning provides services to the 56 school districts of Nassau County; particularly the energetic Mr. Jack Tanzman, its Director, who demonstrated that an effective catalytic person can expedite coordination between two governmental agencies and enable a job of this magnitude to get done in less than eight months' time; and Mrs. Arlene Soifer, in charge of information dissemination for the Division, who brought her considerable editorial skills and those of her staff to bear on the challenge of converting a raw report into a readable and presentable printed document;

The quietly competent and efficient Mrs. Janet Robbins of BOCES Research and Development, who was such a pleasure to know and work with in her role of author's assistant—gathering data, setting up meetings, conducting interviews, and proving helpful in countless ways.

Many experienced and wise observers contributed richly to the author's understanding of the historic experience reported on here. He takes full responsibility, however, for the interpretations and conclusions presented.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Herman W. Land is a communications consultant. Among the organizations he has served are: The Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, National Educational Television (NET), the ABC Television Network, Group W-Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, RKO-General Broadcasting Company, Taft Broadcasting Company. He directed the management group which brought educational station WLIW, Channel 21, to Long Island, New York. Before establishing his own consulting firm, he was an executive with Westinghouse Broadcasting Company and Corinthian Broadcasting Corporation and vice-president and editor of *Television Magazine*. He is vice-chairman of the editorial board of *Television Quarterly*, publication of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. Author of numerous magazine articles dealing with the electronic media, he has also written the parent guidebook, *What You Can Do about Drugs and Your Child*, Hart Publishing Company, New York, 1969.

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CHAPTER ONE

SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW

When news of the formation of the Children's Television Workshop reached the television industry in 1967, it was immediately apparent to many in the medium's professional ranks that something of major national significance was taking place:

> A "vacuum" was about to be filled about which there was growing concern—here, finally, was to be a large-scale effort to provide educational assistance to a neglected preschool population through television.
>
> Because the program was to be a "first" there would be no competition—an ideal condition for success.
>
> It was to be adequately funded; finally, an educational television project would be given enough financial support for adequate preparation and testing.
>
> It was to be led by a professional, competent, highly dedicated top management.

The originating management team—made up of a vice-president of the Carnegie Corporation, Lloyd N. Morrisett, and Mrs. Joan Ganz Cooney, WNDT (now WNET) New York, public affairs producer who had done the feasibility study on which the project was based—were setting out on a milestone venture: *To prove that, given adequate resources, talent and preparation time, a daily hour-long educational program directed to the preschool population could successfully compete in the open television marketplace against all that the commercial medium had to offer. It would achieve its educational goals by embracing the best of contemporary television entertainment techniques.*

The reversal of values is fundamental. The CTW should not be viewed as an educational project with entertainment trappings. It is more accurately described as a commercial-style, "big-time" television undertaking seeking to accomplish educational ends.

A "LAUGH-IN" FOR CHILDREN

Joan Cooney had an inspiration one day. From it grew a television program and a way of looking at television as an educational medium that has general significance. During her feasibility study, she talked to several mothers and learned from them that their 3-year-olds loved to watch commercials. They knew the content, could repeat the copy and musical refrains. Why not use "commercials" to educate, she wondered?

More than a technical device was involved. She had come upon a fundamental aspect of media usage that had been overlooked in the main by those interested in television education: *the child of the television age is highly literate where that medium is concerned.* Scholars have so focused on questions of psychological impact, they have failed to notice the child's sophistication as a viewer who takes in stride the most advanced television techniques. In 1968, the NBC program "Laugh-In" began and quickly became a national favorite. It was a radical departure from conventional entertainment, eschewing continuity for a rapid, unconnected series of visual moments charged with humor and satire. Joan Cooney was impressed with the ability of preschoolers to stay with that program and enjoy it thoroughly, even if much of the language and satire was presumably over their heads.

The lesson was clear—*keep abreast of the times in terms of television format and treatment.* So far as she was concerned, the program would be a "Laugh-In" for children.

Joan Cooney describes the background of that decision:

> One of the feelings I had was that little children were watching adult programs, and that therefore their tastes

> were for strong music and loud lines, much more than educators and parents admitted or, in many cases, noticed. I had an intuition, and I still have—though we have no proof of this yet—that ghetto children watch more television than any other children. . . . Now there is more than enough empirical evidence that the set is always on in those homes. . . . I realized the preschoolers were watching it all day long, that they were watching all of those commercials. Therefore, they were used to this quick pace. We went into business in 1968. "Laugh-In" had started in the fall. It profoundly affected my thinking.

She was thus able to bring to the enterprise an already thought-out basic approach to discipline and direct the three-way collaboration of educators, researchers and creative staff:

> I said it was going to be a "Laugh-In" for children. It was going to use all the techniques of animation, studio live action, film, and was going to have commercials teaching letters and numbers. . . . We were going to have a cast of at least four, but we were not going to have a star of the show and have to live with that. The format would be the star of the show.

Research later corroborated this strong intuition. It showed the youngsters perfectly capable of staying with and enjoying a fast-moving program with discontinuous sequences of varying lengths, interspersed with the teaching commercials, and minus the traditional host with his careful, obvious lead-ins. The children enjoyed—and learned.

Even the Workshop staff tends to forget sometimes how far the public has come in a media sense. David Connell recounts a startling summertime experience connected with "The Electric Company." The program has a pure electronic format, with no host and no connectives between scenes. It employs elaborate electronic tricks and devices to make its points. These often involve long hours and laborious effort. Connell and his family were in Maine during the summer and watched a press conference tape as it was broadcast by the local station:

> There was one technical effect that we got that really is outstanding, and is a staggering, beautiful electronic effect. My family was sitting with me. I said: "Watch this next piece coming up—it'll kill you." It went by, and they said, "What? What was it?" And I said: "My God, didn't you see what happened?" My 16-year-old said: "That means a lot to you, but it doesn't mean anything to us." He was absolutely right. . . . and we spent hours getting this thing!

Several similar incidents prompted a reexamination of some of the effects the producers were planning, for perhaps simpler—and less costly—ways might be just as appropriate and useful in some instances than the more complicated.

The Workshop experience suggests the future pattern:

1. A continuing monitoring of television programming to maintain awareness of the newest program formats, techniques and styles.
2. An operating assumption that the mass audience is familiar with the newest in popular programming and that it therefore enjoys a high electronic media literacy.

Note that the medium is *television,* not film, an important distinction. Here television subsumes film. Often, there is a tendency to look to a filmmaker as the production source. The CTW concept, however, looks upon film as simply one of several ingredients in the program mix. What rules is a *television point* *of view.* In any particular instance film may or may not be the program answer. What is important, then, is a thorough knowledge, not of film as such, but of television programming practice. From a practical point of view, this suggests looking into the television program ranks rather than the motion picture for overall programming expertise.

THE CHILD'S ACCEPTANCE OF EDUCATION AS PLAY

One important element of Joan Cooney's original insight may not be easy to transfer to other situations—the tendency of the young child not to distinguish between education and fun. The adult, she points out, carries with him the feeling that if it is educational, it can't be fun, and that if it's fun, it can't be educational:

> I will tell you the most important thing about our audience: Children don't differentiate between commercial and educational television. They like what makes them feel good, and what makes them feel good is really accomplishment. A child just loves the feeling of accomplishment. That is his pleasure. So if you combine his entertainment with a sense of accomplishment, you succeed. . . . There is a tendency in this country to look upon anything associated with school as a grind and a bore. It is not pleasurable, but play is. So when you begin something about literacy with adults, it can't be fun, and the illiterate adult is not going to watch it, because he's watching "Laugh-In" too, or cartoons, or whatever.

It remains to be seen how far the show-business approach to television education can go as one advances beyond the preschooler level. Whether even a star-studded, sparkling entertainment series frankly designed as education can ever lead the rating charts, may be an open question. The history of the CTW suggests that, at the very least, it should be able to gather to itself an important, large audience. And who can say, if the talent is able enough and the production attractive enough, what is really possible—without actually trying, as Joan Cooney and her fellow pioneers have done?

THE TV MARKETPLACE AS JUDGE

There were no illusions attending the birth of "Sesame Street." It was to be judged as harshly by the marketplace as any other program, educational motives notwithstanding. It would stand or fall on its ability to attract and hold a sufficient percentage of its target audience to justify its generous support, as well as on its educational effectiveness.

There was no certainty that it would work. The program would be dropped if it proved either unable to win a sizable audience or failed to meet its educational objectives. This ambitious aim determined the basic direction of its organization and operational future. It meant that *the program would have to be conceived and produced according to the standards prevailing in the national commercial television medium.*

The implications:

> To find the creative and production talent capable of meeting national commercial competitive standards, it is necessary to dip into the existing pool of what is essentially commercial talent; it means competing for talent with commercial institutions.
>
> The interrelated American television and film industries are so constituted that major talents cutting across the arts and crafts of the two media tend in the main to flow into, and concentrate in, two centers: New York and Hollywood.
>
> Similarly, the production facilities and technical skills called for by complex

> program requirements are still only available on a continuing reliable basis in the same two centers; and even in New York there are not always adequate technical facilities available.

This is not to argue that production of national quality is not possible outside of Hollywood and New York, or that the two-city talent and facilities concentration is desirable. Rather, that since from a practical operating point of view, the task of conducting a highly complex production on the "Sesame Street" level appears formidable, to say the least, it appears to make sense to take the operational realities of a given period into account and plan accordingly.

All of this is well understood by the CTW. Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Lloyd Morrisett, for example, maintains that production for national purposes demands concentration of resources in the talent and facilities centers, as opposed to projects designed to develop local talent. The determining element is the objective, he maintains. Throughout this report we shall be examining the Workshop in that light. Given an objective less demanding than national competition with commercial television, it may well be possible and practical to locate production elsewhere than in the large centers. So long as the objective is to perform on the "Sesame Street" level, however, this does not appear to be a practical alternative.

These conclusions are supported by the experience of the Ford Foundation, long the mainstay of public television stations and the foundation world's heaviest contributor to the medium. Its seasoned television executive, David Davis, says:

> You cannot get the skills, the crafts, the below-the-line types, or the creative above-the-line types anywhere else but in those two cities. You can get bits and pieces of things other places. You can get all that marvelous animal footage shot by the guy at the San Diego station because that resource is there and they have a good cameraman there. You can get a few things from a few of the cities, but the major thrust of it—no, not at this moment in time. That's one of the reasons we're trying to encourage the process of building up San Francisco, Boston and a few other places. Hopefully, 10 years from now they will have been at it long enough so that they'll have built enough people. At the present time an individual station may be in a position to do, say one program a year for the PBS because there is sufficient talent for that project. If they try to do more than that, they'll kill the station. They'll kill what they're trying to do locally. It will just get distorted. . . . You've got to begin to build up some diversity in the system—and we're trying to. But to put a big project like this anyplace would be suicide. It would waste the money and would destroy the operation in which you put it.

Davis notes that this does not rule out competitive production on the local level, so long as one directs his attention to commercial techniques that have proven successful on this scale, such as the "personality" program.

The point is: each objective creates its own production requirements. At the other end of the spectrum, for example, is the closed-circuit presentation of specialized instructional material to a gathering of individuals with a strong common interest in the subject, such as physicians being shown new surgical techniques. While it is important to maintain the interest of this audience throughout the presentation, there is little need for building in the strong entertainment values of the television program that has to attract an audience in competition with other programs.

The need to achieve marketplace success is what drives the Children's Television Workshop, disciplines its operation, and accounts for its organizational style.

MANAGING A CREATIVE ENTERPRISE

The Joan Cooney approach to organization begins with the premise that the CTW is fundamentally a creative institution whose justification finally is what appears on the television screen. From this point of view, the organizational objective must be to fashion a creative environment in which the programming team can function freely, not subject to outside pressures from government, industry, political or social groups, or to needless interference from top management itself. *This condition is achieved through a structure which presents top management and its supporting administrative and legal staff as the buffers between the outside pressure points and the production unit. Creative control rests with the executive producer and his production-writing team, while top management retains policy control.*

Programming is given tacit recognition as the primary department, as the creators of the product which the CTW was organized to produce. It thus enjoys a "first among equals" status.

At the same time, it is freed from direct responsibility for other functions required by the *project.* There are now seven departments: programming, research, information, finance and administration, community relations, international and special projects, nonbroadcast materials. The first four were part of the original plan, the others a response to experience.

At the outset, the Workshop was an autonomous unit within NET (National Educational Television), which provided it with legal and administrative services, assistance in distribution, and the corporate "umbrella" needed for grant-receiving purposes. It began its independent existence as a nonprofit corporation a year later.

Because of the complexity and scale of the proposed venture, Joan Cooney decided early that her role should not be that of executive producer, but *project director,* with the responsibility for direction of the total enterprise. While the executive producer concentrated on the program production task, the project director would pull all the various elements together: research, professional advisors, station clearances, funding, public information, etc. The internal environment is marked by a high esprit de corps. Within the programming ranks, one meets with frequent statements that an unusual degree of creative freedom exists. There is a widespread confidence in, and respect for, top management.

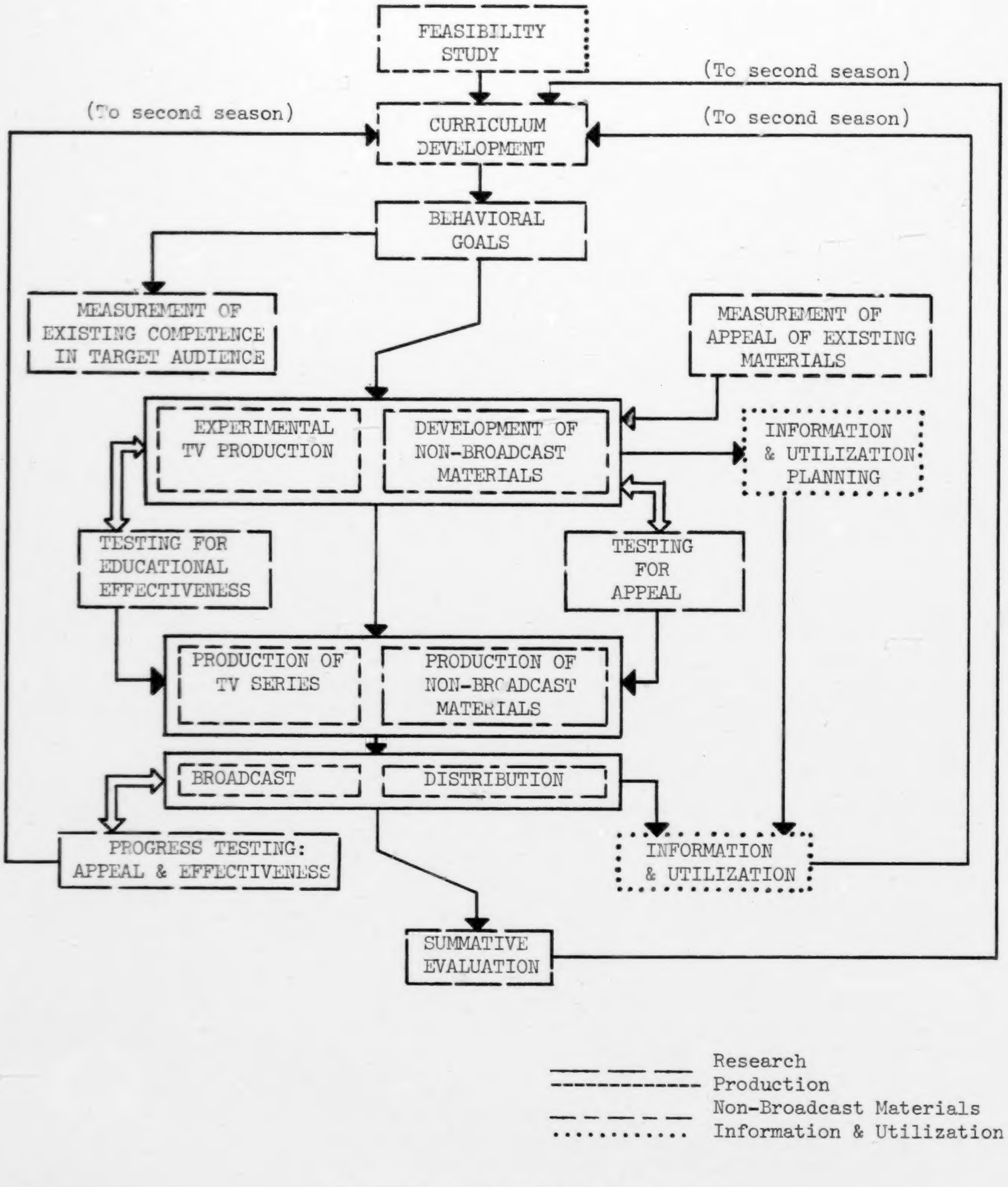
To a considerable degree, this condition appears to be a reflection of the essentially rational style of those who run the organization and their sense of personal security. These personal characteristics are harnessed to a social mission which enlists their total dedication and energies.

The purpose of the CTW together with the simplicity and clarity of its television objectives act to focus operational energies clearly. This helps achieve an organizational sharpness; there is no confusion of purpose.

FUSING EDUCATION, RESEARCH AND PROGRAMMING

Joan Cooney set out to achieve a working collaboration between the programmer, the educator and the researcher–and succeeded. This collaboration was viewed as required from the beginning of operations, so that all the relevant energies could be funneled into program development at the earliest stages. This was accomplished through conscious design. Under the direction of Dr. Gerald S. Lesser, who joined even before executive producer David Connell, a series of five seminars was held to determine the program's television goals. They were attended by approximately 100 (total) educators, researchers, television professionals, writers of children's books, key workshop creative staff members, and observers from the funding organizations. The goals statement that emerged from the sessions formed the basis of the programmers' final selections of the specific "Sesame Street" goals.

SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW


FEASIBILITY STUDY
(To second season)
(To second season)
CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT
(To second season)
BEHAVIORAL GOALS
MEASUREMENT OF EXISTING COMPETENCE IN TARGET AUDIENCE
MEASUREMENT OF APPEAL OF EXISTING MATERIALS
EXPERIMENTAL TV PRODUCTION
DEVELOPMENT OF NON-BROADCAST MATERIALS
INFORMATION & UTILIZATION PLANNING
TESTING FOR EDUCATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS
TESTING FOR APPEAL
PRODUCTION OF TV SERIES
PRODUCTION OF NON-BROADCAST MATERIALS
BROADCAST
DISTRIBUTION
PROGRESS TESTING: APPEAL & EFFECTIVENESS
INFORMATION & UTILIZATION
SUMMATIVE EVALUATION
Research
Production
Non-Broadcast Materials
Information & Utilization

The CTW Operational Model

In the use of advisors, the CTW has broken new ground. Instead of the conventional peripheral relationship with programming, the advisor enjoys an intimate involvement in the program development process. From the point of view of management, he is a member of the operating staff, although on a part-time basis, and is therefore paid for work performed.

Similarly, research has been integrated into the process, permitting programming to test its way to continuing improvement. Research is considered a fundamental part of program development. It enjoys a close relationship with programming unequalled in television, as evidenced in the program department's statement that research is what has made the success of "Sesame Street" possible.

The fusion of the three elements required careful planning and work, for it meant building new relations among departments.

FORMATIVE RESEARCH

As conceived by the CTW, research should be used as a program building tool from the earliest stages. This view is characteristic of the empirical orientation of the Workshop. It seeks to be guided pragmatically by what objective experience points to as that which will be most effective in reaching and educating its audience. This results in a process of production, testing, feedback and revised production which is, in effect, a self-regenerative process of improvement always in motion. It results, too, in an open-ended attitude toward production as a continuing process, rather than as a system with fixed limits.

Research directed toward program development is termed "formative" research. At the Workshop it consists in the main of two parts: that designed to test the ability of a program to hold the viewer's attention; that designed to see how much of the educational objective is being achieved.

To test the attention-holding power of a program segment, research head Dr. Edward Palmer uses the *distractor,* a rear-screen projection unit placed near the television set. Various slides are flashed on the screen every seven- and one-half seconds and the movement of the child's eyes is noted. The degree to which the slides are capable of distracting the viewer from the television set becomes a measure of the given program segment's ability to hold his interest from second to second.

Educational effectiveness is measured by before-and-after tests of acquired knowledge and skills, such as the ability to recognize letters, to count, and to judge relationships. These tests, conducted by Educational Testing Service, an independent testing organization, show the program to possess a high degree of effectiveness.

SUMMATIVE RESEARCH

Summative research means going into the marketplace at large and seeking to determine both how well the program is reaching its target audience and how effective it is actually proving in carrying out its educational mission. The Yankelovich organization was commissioned by the CTW to conduct surveys in the disadvantaged areas: East Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, New York City; Chicago, Illinois, and Washington, D.C. In the first four areas, penetration was remarkably high, reaching some 90 percent of the target households in Bedford-Stuyvesant, with 60 percent of the children regular viewers. In Washington, illustrating the UHF problem, the penetration was 32 percent.

Other studies conducted during that first season, among them a survey by the A. C. Nielsen Company, tended to support the optimistic conclusion that "Sesame Street" was a national "hit" of major proportions. The Educational Testing Service measured the effectiveness of the program as actually broadcast through achievement tests conducted among the children viewing during the season.

The dynamic use of research leads to a condition of permanent production, as the feedback from testing suggests new ways to reach the goals. A certain amount of the program material is repeatable, but there are limits to how often a segment can be shown on a daily series. Permanent production is encouraged, too, by a sensitivity to the changing conditions of society and their effects on values and attitudes, all of which are reflected in the content and treatment of the program. The Workshop can thus stay abreast of change and incorporate into its programming the lessons of experience on a continuing basis. This has long-range financial and organizational implications.

PRODUCING THE PROGRAM

"Sesame Street" standards and key creative talents are drawn from commercial network television—several key staff people were, at one time or another, members of the CBS "Captain Kangaroo" team. The Cooney decision to draw her key staff from the commercial ranks stemmed from her conversations during the feasibility study period, when it became clear that the Workshop would face a huge challenge in turning out the contemplated volume of production five hours a week. Experience in volume production under commercial conditions was considered mandatory. David Connell, executive producer, had been producer of "Captain Kangaroo."

The production process begins with an assignment sheet prepared by the curriculum coordinator. It outlines the curriculum areas for the program by categories, showing the desired amount of time to be devoted to each. With this as a guide, the writer prepares his script for the live-action portions and plans the use of existing film and tape segments. A nonsequential curriculum is employed, since consecutive viewing cannot be assumed in an open-circuit, noncontrolled viewing environment. Each program is complete unto itself, therefore. The script goes to the head writer for approval or rewrite, to the producer for final review, then to typing and duplication.

A week later a production meeting is held for planning the studio work, and preparations for props, set, costumes, music, etc., are under way for the following two weeks, when production begins.

The studio-shot material is delivered to the tape editor who puts it together with existing segments.

During the production process a studio producer checks for curriculum soundness. Throughout the studio day, advisors, researchers and management can monitor the production on television sets in the headquarters' offices. A completed show is fed over the lines every day at 12:30 P. M. When the observers note something that is not in accord with curriculum needs, they call the producer with the information. Thus, a continuing check is kept on the educational soundness of the production. Far from acting as a restrictive system, the monitoring has turned out to be of considerable value from the producer's standpoint.

To write the daily programs, there is a staff of six writers reporting to head writer Jeff Moss. The requirements for this assignment are rather stringent. Not only must the writer have the talent to create entertaining and interesting ways to present the educational material; he must be able to do so in a way that will attract and delight the 4-year-old child.

When confronted with educational jargon that may act to inhibit the creative flow, he can turn to the innovative Writer's Notebook, developed by research head Palmer in response to the program department's request for assistance in interpreting research findings. The Notebook presents the ideas of the researchers in a form that will be helpful to the writer. It is not a universal solution, but a helpful tool in the way a lexicon or dictionary might be helpful, since it tries to define the concepts of professional education in day-to-day terms.

Originally, production responsibility was apportioned according to functional areas, such as writing and casting, studio production, etc. With the advent of

"The Electric Company" the assignments have been altered. Now there is one producer for each series: Jon Stone for "Sesame Street," Sam Gibbon for "The Electric Company." This permits one point of view to discipline each program.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The Children's Television Workshop is run with an efficiency equal to that of any well run commercial institution. In place of the profit motive, it relies on a conscious determination to get $1.25 of value for every $1.00 spent. Financial and administrative vice-president, Thomas Kennedy, has the responsibility of keeping the organization on a solid monetary base. This involves a clearly limited, though generous, salary policy and a system of budgetary control that all departments must adhere to.

To recruit the talented staff it sought, the Workshop management understood that it would have to find some way of competing in the television marketplace. It therefore offers the prospective key employee a salary that is generally in line with commercial level—but on the low end of the competitive scale. This means that one can enjoy a good, even a high income, but that the higher salaries on the commercial scale are ruled out. The employee must expect to receive part of his reward in the form of "psychic" income, that is, the satisfaction of working for a socially important purpose in an institution where he can enjoy a rare creative freedom. While this policy acts to keep certain highly regarded talents out of the potential prospect roster, it also helps to eliminate in advance those whose social motivation is inadequate.

The budget control procedure is based on a good working relationship between the financial and other departments. Each department head makes up his own budget for the year, assisted by a financial department representative. After one or more approval reviews by Joan Cooney and Tom Kennedy, it goes to the board in the form of the overall budget proposal, following which, the revised budgets are reported back to the department heads.

During the year there are monthly analyses made of each department's expenditures, and projections are formulated of the consequences of current cost levels on the future budget. These reviews are made together with the department head, who is then in a position to change course if the projections show the department to be going over budget, or to find some way to make it possible to follow a desired course through alterations in other parts of his operation.

Similarly, an operations control representative in the studio supervises daily expenditures and calls the producer's attention to costs and commitments that might adversely affect the resources on hand.

The CTW adheres to the principle of budget flexibility. It is against a fixed, rigid budget on the grounds that television is a creative medium, a process filled with the unpredictable. Production must be free to pursue the fruits of creative imagination. This calls for an "elastic" approach to financial control which respects creative needs. It starts from the premise that financial administration is not an end unto itself, but exists to *serve* production and the other departments. Implementation of this principle calls for maximum diplomacy and sensitivity to the ways of thinking of those who are not financially oriented.

Its success in the CTW case is evidenced in the fact that at the end of the first year, the treasury showed $85,000 unspent. The 1971-72 budget contained a $250,000 budgetary reserve for "Sesame Street" and a $100,000 reserve for "The Electric Company." These reserves are something new.

Workshop production relationships are complex, involving a relatively small staff of producers, writers, and film and tape editors, together with a large number of free-lance and subcontract arrangements. Its only union contract is with AFTRA, the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists. Other union obligations are satisfied through subcontract arrangements with Teletape Productions, whose studios and technical staffs are employed on the Workshop programs. The CTW itself does not own its own studios or major equipment, thus avoiding high overhead costs during "dead" periods.

The free-lance policy permits the Workshop to employ outstanding individual and company talents that it could not afford on a full-time basis. The most capable talents tend to prefer free-lancing to staff situations. Directorial chores of both series, for example, are contracted directly on a free-lance basis with two independent director groups.

Although the free-lance-subcontracting practice permits the Workshop to work somewhat below the cost level of the highly unionized commercial organizations, policy is to pay above-scale where indicated in order to obtain the services of a desired individual whose dedication and competence will more than make up for the difference in cost. In practice, important monetary savings can be achieved by so doing.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PROMOTION

The Children's Television Workshop is the first educational television undertaking to mount a "big-league" promotional-publicity campaign. The advent of "Sesame Street" was greeted by press, television and radio with unparalleled generosity, testifying to both the "vacuum" in children's television and the skill with which the information department told the Workshop story to the nation.

The information function is built into the CTW as a *basic* structural element, and has functioned as such from the beginning. It enjoys a management stature equal to that of any other department.

Moreover, it is fully professional in staff and operation, headed by a vice-president with solid public relations background. Through an arrangement with a public relations firm, the Workshop has its in-house executive and team on permanent placement plus an outside task force (when needed) for specific assignments.

The information campaign used little paid advertising, depending largely on the public relations art. A many-sided campaign was planned and executed. The campaign involved press releases, newspaper and magazine stories and interviews, television and radio announcements, appearances before public and industry groups. An innovative electronic press conference was held by network line with 180 public TV stations, which invited local press and dignitaries. This was followed by a unique preview of the series on the NBC Television Network, sponsored by Xerox Corporation.

The ultimate special target audience was the disadvantaged child of the inner city ghetto and the remote rural area. The CTW had to overcome the limitations of the white middle-class media, the overall white, cultural elite orientation of public television, the low audience levels associated with that medium, and the prevalence of UHF in the noncommercial spectrum, all of which acted to make contact with the target populations difficult to achieve through conventional techniques.

A large-scale community involvement campaign was undertaken to inform the black, Spanish-speaking and poor rural white populations that "Sesame Street" was available to them. It was based on direct personal contact with parental groups and organizations, the setting up of viewing centers, distribution of handbills in the apartments and during parades, use of displays and mobile unit demonstrations at shopping centers and other places where people gather, etc.

The original field campaign was conducted on the basis of grants to 10 public television stations. Mixed results led to the decision to establish a field services staff. There are 13 field coordinators now functioning across the country.

From what was basically promotion and information to the disadvantaged communities, the field service staff has moved on to a continuing, extensive utilization campaign. This involves working with parents to help them help their children to benefit from the instructional content of the program.

In its latest development, the Workshop finds itself working with a growing number of universities and colleges who are beginning to give credit to students for time spent in the viewing centers that are growing steadily in number. The U.S. Office of Education is reported to be considering a large-scale utilization effort directed to other aspects of television education on the basis of the success of the "Sesame Street" innovation. There is now interest being shown as well in the use of radio and audio cassette to reach Indian and similar populations not being adequately served by television. These field efforts are now conducted under the purview of the recently established Community Relations Department.

GETTING THE PROGRAM ON THE AIR

It is not enough to produce a program, for it has no life or meaning until it is on the television screen and the audience has the opportunity to view. Joan Cooney understood the need to insure distribution and undertook an intensive campaign to obtain "station clearances." She and her executive assistant, Robert Davidson, visited the top 25 markets to meet with school representatives and station managers. Their purpose: to convince them that "Sesame Street" should be carried, and in the desired time, the morning. The obstacle was the instructional school service programming that fills the daily schedule of so many noncommercial stations. The effort was successful, in the main, and "Sesame Street" achieved wide distribution, with morning time in stations covering about 60 percent of the population.

Since that time the Public Broadcasting Service came into being, tying together over 200 noncommercial stations for network purposes. It feeds a limited number of program hours to the interconnected stations, the rest of the station schedules being filled by programs obtained through the syndication library of the PBS or produced locally. The entire system, national and local, has a limited capacity for programming. As production volume grows, the demands on this capacity will increase, forcing the exclusion of a considerable amount of programming. This condition can be expected to prevail until there are multiple educational outlets along patterns envisioned by proponents of cable television. For the foreseeable future, however, programs designed for mass consumption must compete for the limited over-the-air opportunities.

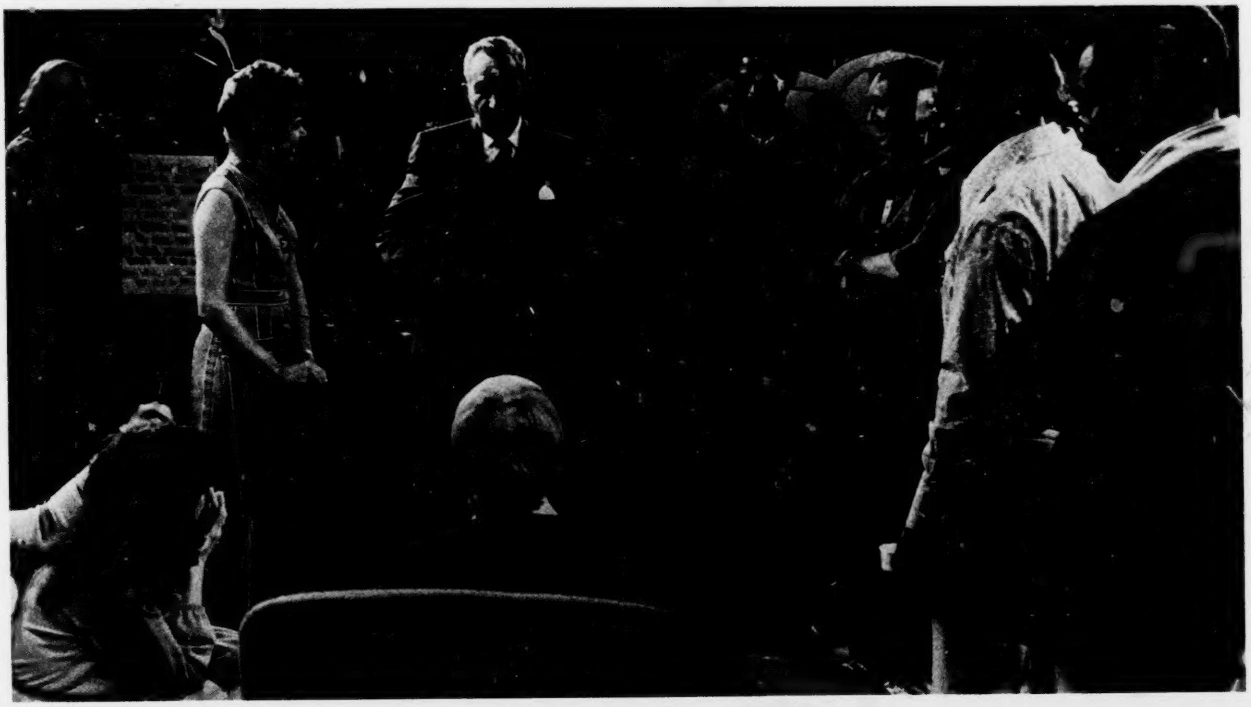
Those who plan educational television projects would do well to investigate distribution opportunities in advance of major commitments. They will have to make a basic determination whether to aim at national program dissemination through the PBS line or to proceed by the much slower route of syndication, the process of "bicycling" programs from station to station in cans of film or tape.

MULTIPLE FUNDING SOURCES

The proposed budget scale pointed quite early to the federal government as a major source of support, since even the original $4 million estimate was too high for either a single foundation or several in combination to meet.

The U.S. Office of Education agreed to contribute 50 percent of the first year's budget, which finally was estimated at $8 million for the first two years. (In actuality, it turned out to be $7.2 million.) A matching amount was generated through grants from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, the John and Mary Markle Foundation and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

CTW management is convinced that multiple sources of funding are important



U.S.O.E. Commissioner of Education, Sidney P. Marland, Jr., on the set of "The Electric Company" with Joan Cooney and other staff and cast members.

for operational flexibility and sustained support. They are therefore as much concerned with long-range prospects as with current needs and have organized themselves accordingly. To begin with, they would like to see the future government share limited to 50 percent, so that no single source could be a dominant factor. This is important, they believe, in preserving the independence of an institution such as the Workshop. It is also essential for a working environment characterized by creative freedom. That is a condition, they insist, without which the most desirable creative talent cannot be attracted.

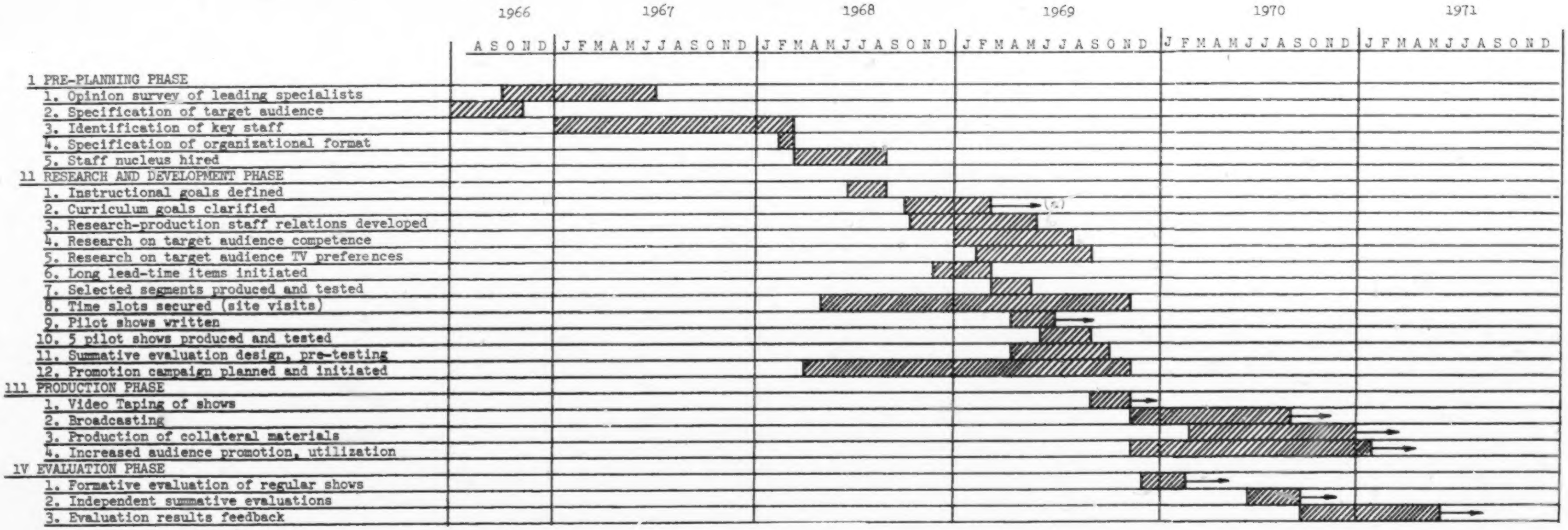
Future financial needs were important in the decisions to undertake the creation and distribution of nonbroadcast materials: books, records, magazines, toys. This has led to the establishment of a new department, the Non-Broadcasting Materials Division, to work with commercial publishers, record distributors and toy companies, with whom profit-sharing arrangements are entered into. The products are considered extensions of the original broadcast materials. While the ultimate market potential remains to be fully determined, its promise is indicated by the Workshop's expectation of a million dollar net return from this area of activity by June of 1972—the first materials had begun to appear in the marketplace in the fall of 1971.

International program distribution represents another important source of income, estimated to be able to bring in approximately a million dollars annually in a few years. Arrangements have been concluded in Europe, Asia, Australia, the Caribbean, and Africa for television broadcast of "Sesame Street" in both English and foreign-language versions. Under CTW auspices, an original Spanish-language version is being produced in Mexico City for Latin-American distribution. A Portuguese version is being developed for Brazil. At publication time, indications are that arrangements have been completed for a German language production to be aired in the fall of 1973.

SUMMARY OF THE MODEL

The distinguishing features of the CTW model are:

- A dedication to a justifiable national need.



(a) → Indicates continuing or repeated activity.

"Sesame Street" developmental and operational activities, 1966-71 (approximate durations)

SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW

- A pioneering character and orientation and a "first-time" effort in a recognized social and media "vacuum."
- A highly competent, dedicated management.
- Establishment of a new organization, first as a self-contained unit of NET, then as an independent nonprofit corporation, to achieve a pioneering goal.
- Sufficient funding to do the full job of preparation, research and production, together with promotion and community involvement, on a professional level.
- Sufficient time to prepare for production.
- A recognition that to compete with commercial television it is necessary to adopt that medium's standards and techniques.
- A recruitment policy which looks upon experienced commercial television talents as the key personnel elements.
- A salary policy that offers as attractions a competitive salary on the lower end of the scale together with the psychic rewards of working in a free creative environment devoted to an important social end.
- An understanding of the complexity of the top management role, which led to the concept of the project director who "pulls it all together" and exercises policy control leaving creative control in the hands of an executive producer.
- A sensitivity to the needs and concerns of creative people, the best of whom resent outside or top management interference as opposed to direction and leadership, and a determination to so organize and operate as to shield them from those pressures.
- A "first among equals" positioning for programming which recognizes its primary role, but which enables the other departments to function equally in the management structure.
- The inclusion of promotion and research as fundamental elements of the Workshop operation from the beginning.
- The recognition that modern audience promotion is a highly specialized function calling for professional expertise, and acceptance of the staffing implications.
- Acceptance of the limitations of white middle-class media for reaching target populations of inner city, Spanish-speaking and rural poor and undertaking a direct community involvement campaign using person-to-person contact as the main element.
- Using research as an integral part of the program development process, testing segments, and then programs, for attention-holding and educational effectiveness, as well as for overall evaluation of penetration and impact.
- Bringing the professional educator-advisor into an intimate working relationship with the creative and research staffs, so that, from the outset, his expert knowledge informs the process of establishing program curriculum goals.
- An empirical orientation that depends on research feedback in a self-regenerative process of continuous program improvement.
- A concept of the audience as literate where the electronic media are concerned, leading to adoption of contemporary, advanced television production techniques.
- An eclectic approach to technique which employs film, tape, live

action, animation, as indicated, as opposed to reliance on any single technique.

- A nonsequential approach to curriculum based on unpredictable open-circuit viewing patterns, which requires that each program be a self-contained entity from an educational standpoint.
- A determination to become as self-sustaining as possible through the issuance of nonbroadcast materials and international program distribution and a continuing exploration of funding opportunities, coupled with a policy of limiting individual support to nondominant positions in order to preserve operational flexibility and independence.
- A system of cost control unusual in the nonprofit world which enables the Workshop to obtain maximum value for its dollars and to maintain overall financial stability.
- An insight into the nature of television program distribution, which led to a major, and largely successful, effort to convince the stations in the noncommercial medium to carry "Sesame Street."

Sherlock Hemlock (right), the "Sesame Street" sleuth, is a bumbling detective who helps children learn problem solving by looking for clues. Hemlock is master of the obvious. Here, he and Ernie, another of Jim Henson's Muppet puppets, solve the case of the missing apple.

CHAPTER TWO

MEETING A NATIONAL NEED

> For the assessment of such a project, it would be necessary to get answers to the following: "What is the validity of this idea that has just been put on my desk? Has it been done before? If so, how effective was it? How does this particular proposal differ from other experiments that have been taking place, and is it different enough to continue our interest in it? Finally, I suppose, who is being served by this project if we do fund it? Does the group which is being served hold a high priority on our list of interests?
>
> Interview with John F. White, president,
> The Cooper Union; former president, NET

The starting point of an understanding of the success of the Children's Television Workshop is the great social need it was established to meet. For a decade the Carnegie Corporation, along with other institutions, had been attempting to grapple with the huge problem of the educational neglect characterizing the environment of the preschool population, particularly those segments composed of the poor, the black, the rural whites, all those who have come to be known through the years as the disadvantaged.

The scope of the challenge facing American society had become distressingly clear to many within those institutions seeking to do something about it. Lloyd Morrisett, vice-president of the Carnegie Corporation during the midsixties (he is now president of the John and Mary R. Markle Foundation), recalls how his foundation stressed the application of psychological research in education at a time

> when the country was becoming extremely sensitized to the problems of early education because of the failure of large numbers of children in urban communities and school. New York City was a primary case where a black child would come into the school a few months behind in first grade and be a year and a half behind by third grade. This was a common finding.

The Carnegie Corporation, the Office of Education, the National Institute of Mental Health and other institutions initiated projects aimed at solving the problem. The projects were designed to overcome the educational lag by

> building something into the child before he went to school that either would inoculate him against the effects—the deleterious effects—of school, as seen by some people, or would provide him with a background to take greater advantage of school, which is how some other people looked at it. Or provide something in his background which was lacking which compensated for the deficiencies in his environment. These projects were typically designed to take the child at a very early age, in some cases, 4 or 5, and do something like this. They were done on an experimental basis, and usually did not involve more than a relative handful of children.

During this period the National Council on Educational Policy issued a report calling for universal preschool education to work in this manner and to take advantage of the findings that suggested it seemed possible to do something in this area. It estimated the cost of providing it at something over $2 billion. The White House Conference on Education also helped to highlight the need, Morrisett notes.

> But looking at the economics of providing that kind of education

> in the traditional manner, one came to the conclusion, (a) that the money on that scale was not going to be made available; (b) that even if the money were made available, it couldn't happen soon, because you'd have to build all sorts of new school buildings, train teachers—such as nursery school teachers, for example—and such training was, and still is, in disarray. So that even if you had the funds, you wouldn't have the physical and personnel resources that would allow you to do it.
>
> So there was a quandry. A societal and educational quandry that was becoming more clear. Looking at our own programming at Carnegie Corporation and the things that we were doing, it was also becoming increasingly clear that the kinds of effort we were making was in no way scaled to the problem, that even though we were helping to generate interesting ideas from experimentation and pilot projects, the application of those ideas, the spread of those projects—even when we tried to do it in as vigorous a fashion as we could help with—was in no way comparable to the problem that people were trying to solve. If you aggregated our efforts and the Ford Foundation's efforts with the Office of Education's efforts, it still held true. Looking at Carnegie Corporation particularly, it was just a miniscule drop in the bucket.

The Cooney presentation to the Carnegie Corporation on "The Potential Uses of Television in Preschool Education," which was the result of a four-month feasibility survey financed by that institution, built its case on this point. Mrs. Cooney noted that the preschool population,

> . . . . once the most neglected, educationally speaking, has marched to the center of the stage.

The most important reason for the new interest was

> the academic achievement gap between disadvantaged and middle-class children that manifests itself during the early school years then increases dramatically in the higher grades.

The Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association had proposed that

> all children should have the opportunity to go to school at public expense beginning at the age of four.

But there are no kindergartens in nearly half of the nation's school districts.

> If the NEA's recommendation went into effect tomorrow, about five million more 4- and 5-year-olds would be added to school rolls. If it is remembered that most big urban school systems already rely heavily on part-time teachers and that colleges are just beginning to set up large-scale preschool teacher-training programs, the dimensions of the problem in educating all 4- and 5-year-olds in classrooms begin to emerge. We must add to these statistics the estimate of $2.75 billion a year to handle the extra children—an estimated cost that does not take into consideration new classrooms.

In short, the nation faced a clear and present danger:

> All of this suggests that most 4-year-olds and many 5-year-olds will not be admitted to our public schools in the fore-

> seeable future, and in the opinion of many qualified observers, most will not receive the optimal intellectual stimulation in the home to fully challenge and train their rapidly developing intelligence.

To this, it was only necessary to add that the crucial role of the early years in the formation of the full human being as he would be in later life had now become widely understood.

> Most cognitive psychologists agree that the experiences of the first six years are critically important. . . . Researcher Benjamin Bloom finds that a very favorable environment in the first four years can affect intelligence by about 2.5 IQ points a year, whereas from 8 to 17, it will affect intelligence by 0.4 points per year.

Clearly, there was a vast social need, and the traditional institutions and resources of the nation's educational system were not adequate to the task. It was in this vacuum that the idea of using the television medium to make up for the lack of traditional institutional capability appeared with such immediate and obvious appeal. It was a simple and logical answer to a dilemma that had hitherto resisted solution. This is why it won universal approbation at once. It was not important that the specific goals and techniques had not yet been devised. Once the idea was stated, its simplicity and soundness were immediately apparent to anyone who understood the pervasiveness of the television medium and who was aware of the vast amount of time children spent before the screen.

This is why, once the news broke that a children's television workshop was being established and funded on a hitherto unmatched scale, it was clear to many experienced observers and practitioners in the media world that something of major importance had begun to be born.

What is noteworthy in the Workshop case is that its mission was not simply one that could be considered valid from a conventional view of social need, but that it centered on a *major* need of the society of which that society was becoming increasingly conscious as frustrating years went by.

The clarity and precision of the purpose, to educate the disadvantaged target population of young children, has functioned as an admirable disciplining element to organize the energies and talents of the Workshop staff. There is no confusion about goal. It is a single, uncomplicated goal understood and believed in by everyone concerned. Organizationally, this is an enormous advantage, for it acts to constrain the usual conflicts of purpose that can be expected to appear in an institution once it grows beyond the handful size. Because of the clarity of the Workshop's mission in the world, it is relatively easy for a staff member to relate organizational activity to a comprehensible and worthwhile end. This accounts, in part, for the extraordinary ėlan of the organization and for the willingness of the staff, regardless of department, to expend working energies without regard to the clock.

The universally accepted role of the Workshop acted as an attraction to potential staff. It made a strong appeal to the idealism that characterizes many of those who are employed or are active in the commercial broadcasting world. Now that the "Sesame Street" success is history, various key individuals in the Workshop have received highly attractive commercial offers. So far, they have resisted the monetary temptations. It appears to be the combination of purpose and the environment in which they are spending their professional lives that is responsible.

CHAPTER THREE

MANAGING A CREATIVE ENTERPRISE

Joan Cooney likes to think that the CTW structure is really a function of her own weaknesses as a television professional. She could not, for example, really see herself in the role of executive producer, for she does not believe she is particularly creative, nor, she insists, does she have the intimate knowledge of the production scene that such a person should have.

CONCEPT OF THE PROJECT DIRECTOR

The key insight into the management requirements of the enterprise being contemplated arose from a review of the organizational problem of the Public Broadcast Laboratory, which had been launched through the financial graces of the Ford Foundation in November, 1967, in an effort to demonstrate how effective and important public television might be, given sufficient support and national interconnection. This ambitious venture suffered from an administrative structure that saw its executive producer act to control all other areas in addition to that of programming. He reported directly to a Board of Advisors, while nominally on the executive staff of NET. This involved him in difficult and contradictory situations.

This PBL experience was, in part, responsible for Mrs. Cooney's conviction that there were really two roles involved: one, an executive producer, who would be responsible for everything that bore directly on the program itself; the other, an executive director who would assume overall responsibility for the project, and "pull all the parts together." The direct line of command would begin with the executive or project director. The project director, during the NET phase, would report directly to the president of that organization, John F. White. Later, when the Workshop moved out of NET to become a nonprofit corporation on its own, the function was embodied in the person of Mrs. Cooney as president.

Mrs. Cooney tells of the development of the project director concept:

> Everyone talked about me being executive producer when we were first talking. But I am not creative in this way. I had never worked on the kind of techniques we were talking about. I would not have known where to begin, where to get animation done for the "commercials," and so on. So I said right away that what we needed was an executive director. There would be an executive producer in charge of production. It would be important to have someone functioning to see that the mix of programming, information and research worked. We had several components. *The main thing is to have a person in whose mind the whole project exists.*
>
> I think a central figure is terribly important to the morale and functioning of an organization; a central, on-premises figure who stands or falls with you and to whom you have access on a continuing basis, somebody who you know keeps his eye on the ball and has a vision. What we wanted to do was very simple—to teach children—and we never deviated from it because the purpose was so glaringly obvious. When we occasionally got into murky waters, it was no big deal to stand up to anyone and tell him: "No, we are not going to do that. . . we are going to stick to our original idea. I think it is critical."
>
> For example, I was absolutely convinced that one of the things the public would totally understand would be shorthand employing commercials to teach letters and numbers. Now Dave's first reaction when he came in was: "Why don't we use the little commercials as pure entertainment, between educational material?" That was one way to go.

> But you need a project director who says no. The one thing I'm very clear on is that our shorthand to the public in discussing this project is that they have seen commercials made to sell that were vastly entertaining, and we're going to make vastly entertaining commercials that still sell—but they are going to sell letters and numbers!
>
> Now, somebody has got to have no stake in those creative decisions as such—one who is not negotiating with the talent, but who is continually keeping that team pulling together. If you bring in the best, someone's got to keep them pulling together. A lot of ideas come up that are perfectly valid, but unless somebody holds the vision who does not have a stake and is not continually negotiating with people—that's where the compromises have to be made—you've got to have one person who can say yes or no to the compromise. The executive producer can't do it because he's totally involved in the product. Dave was producing the animation for "Sesame Street." He took it on as an operating role. Who was going to run the whole show? Were you going to have the executive producer run the research, the promotion and information, and run the political and the fund-raising sides, going out and selling this to teachers and making a decision on what's important and what's not important? I think that's a fatal error.

When an organization is being created to implement a project and is to have a separate and distinct existence of its own, overall direction as Joan Cooney describes it is assumed to be lodged in the chief executive, usually the president. It is easy to lose sight of the need when the appropriate formal structure does not exist, or when the effort is going to be simply one more engaged in by a going organization. In many instances, it is enough to appoint an executive producer, when the other functions are already under control, so long as someone in authority—such as the president or a vice-president—is working on the project as a whole. When the project is of pioneering character, complex, or of major dimension, as in the case of the Children's Television Workshop, then the concept of the project director may be highly appropriate.

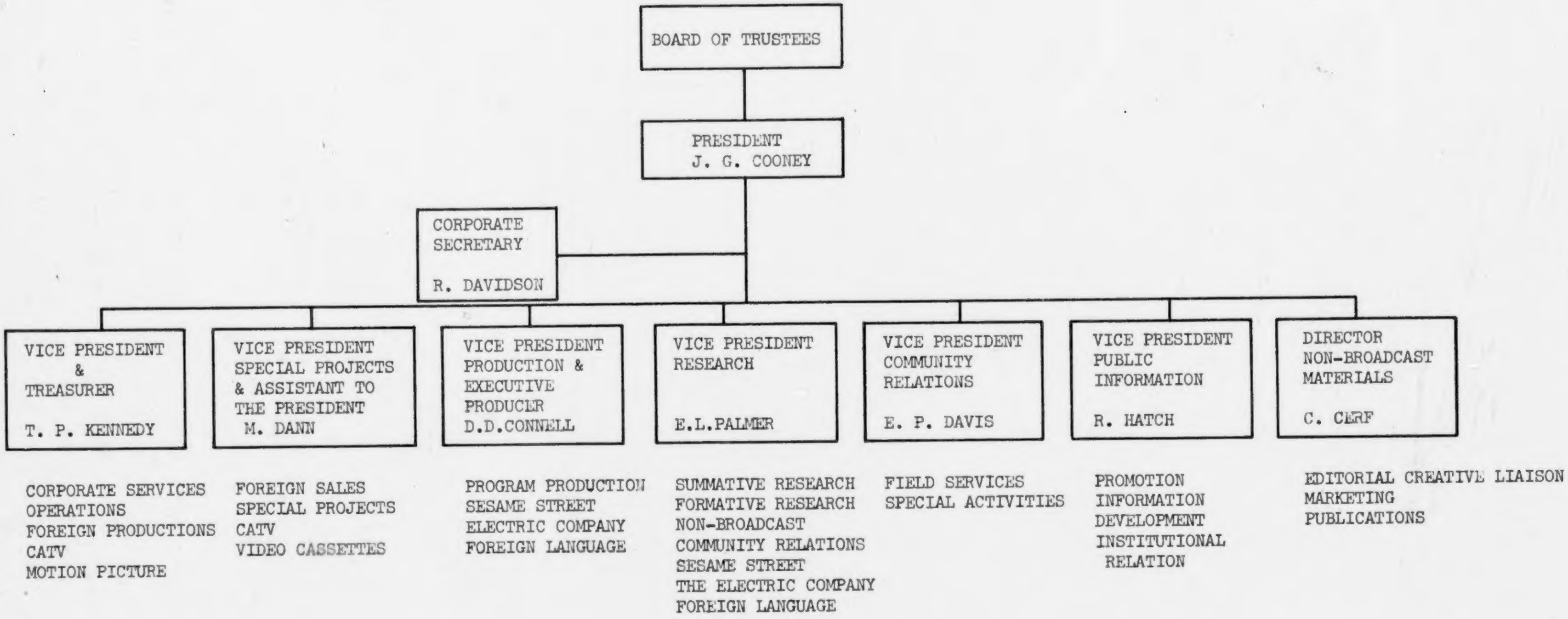
THE KEY DEPARTMENTS

In Joan Cooney's mind there were four functions that were vital and which she would "pull together" as project director:

1. *Executive Producer*—This individual would be in charge of all matters pertaining to creating and producing the program.
2. *Director of Research*—He would conduct and supervise all research, with particular stress in the early days laid on developing testing techniques and conducting formative research.
3. *Director of Information*—He would direct the promotion, publicity and field services (utilization) campaigns aimed at finding the target audience and attracting it to the set.
4. *Director of Finance and Administration*—He would be in charge of financial and administrative matters. Because of the early decision to begin as part of NET, however, this position was left open; the financial and administrative backup for that period was to be supplied by NET. It was only after the Workshop left NET to be established as an independent entity, that this position existed in fact, and was filled.

Since the original structure was formed, three departments have been added.

ORGANIZATION CHART OF THE
CHILDREN'S TELEVISION WORKSHOP


BOARD OF TRUSTEES
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SECRETARY
R. DAVIDSON
VICE PRESIDENT
&
TREASURER
T. P. KENNEDY
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& ASSISTANT TO
THE PRESIDENT
M. DANN
VICE PRESIDENT
PRODUCTION &
EXECUTIVE
PRODUCER
D.D.CONNELL
VICE PRESIDENT
RESEARCH
E.L.PALMER
VICE PRESIDENT
COMMUNITY
RELATIONS
E. P. DAVIS
VICE PRESIDENT
PUBLIC
INFORMATION
R. HATCH
DIRECTOR
NON-BROADCAST
MATERIALS
C. CERF
CORPORATE SERVICES
OPERATIONS
FOREIGN PRODUCTIONS
CATV
MOTION PICTURE
FOREIGN SALES
SPECIAL PROJECTS
CATV
VIDEO CASSETTES
PROGRAM PRODUCTION
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ELECTRIC COMPANY
FOREIGN LANGUAGE
SUMMATIVE RESEARCH
FORMATIVE RESEARCH
NON-BROADCAST
COMMUNITY RELATIONS
SESAME STREET
THE ELECTRIC COMPANY
FOREIGN LANGUAGE
FIELD SERVICES
SPECIAL ACTIVITIES
PROMOTION
INFORMATION
DEVELOPMENT
INSTITUTIONAL
RELATION
EDITORIAL CREATIVE LIAISON
MARKETING
PUBLICATIONS

Utilization has been separated from Information and established as a department under the name Community Relations; International and Non-Broadcast Materials are new departments. The former departmental heads and some of the newer colleagues now enjoy vice-presidential status.

PROGRAMMING FIRST AMONG EQUALS

There is a tacit recognition at the CTW that although all departments are nominally on a par, in fact programming stands first among equals. This is necessarily the case simply because that is what the Workshop is fundamentally about. It exists primarily to create programs. The functions of all the other departments are derived from that fact. They do not, and should not, have a life and separate goals of their own unrelated to that fact.

At the same time, in terms of the needs of the organization as an overall enterprise, these departmental functions require recognition as basic parts of a project which, although essentially a program undertaking, includes the program element as one of *several* equally important to the success of its mission.

COMMUNICATIONS MORE DIFFICULT WITH GROWTH

While it has become more difficult for top management to keep in touch with all departments now that the company has grown past the 200 mark, and there are some complaints that it is not as easy as it was to communicate with the president, there is still the feeling that, on the whole, communications are fairly healthy.

Joan Cooney is quite conscious of these growth-associated problems and makes a deliberate effort to find ways of keeping communication lines untrammeled. She makes it a point to meet with executive producer Connell at least once a day and to stay in touch with department heads as frequently as possible through informal visits in their offices. During the interview period, she was encountered frequently in the offices of her executives. A more formal device is the vice-presidents' dinner, a three-hour, out-of-the office get-together every other week (if enough vice-presidents are in town). At these gatherings, department heads exchange information about what is going on in their areas and counsel together on corporate questions. The most difficult problem, Mrs. Cooney finds, is staying in touch with the rest of the staff. She has made attempts to have frequent individual lunches and to find other reasons to get together, but as the pressures on her have mounted with the mushrooming success of the organization, her ability to find time for such encounters becomes ever more circumscribed. As with other chief executives, she is finding that the larger the company grows, the more she becomes dependent on her line of command to stay in touch.

WHY THE WORKSHOP BEGAN WITH NET

The CTW's beginning as a department of NET is illustrative of the sophistication and professionalism which even then characterized the Morrisett-Cooney team. They faced the job of getting started and functioning within a complex system of public television which could not be presumed to be necessarily prepared to welcome the venture fully. They had to obtain clearances on the stations, to distribute the programs, and to be concerned with administrative and legal requirements, functions that a going organization could assume. Furthermore, a corporate umbrella would be useful at that stage to serve as the receiver of federal and foundation grants. NET could serve these various purposes if an agreement could be arrived at which would preserve Workshop autonomy and allow it the option of pulling out at a later stage, should that appear to be desirable.

In her February, 1968, proposal Joan Cooney comments:

> We propose the creation of a semiautonomous production unit to be called Children's Television Workshop of National Educational Television. This unit would report directly to John F. White, president of NET.

> We believe the unit should be semiautonomous to insure maximum freedom during its trial season. We believe further that the Children's Television Workshop should be connected with NET because most stations which will be carrying the program are affiliated with NET and enjoy an excellent relationship with that national production organization. Moreover, since NET already has an experienced administrative and legal staff, to duplicate completely these features seems both illogical and unnecessarily costly.
>
> A policy group composed of representatives of the major funding organizations, the president of NET, and the chairman of the board of NET, or his designate, will be formed for the purpose of reviewing, whenever necessary, the business affairs and management of the Children's Television Workshop. The group will meet on request from any of its members, or the executive director of the project.

Mr. John F. White, who is now president of The Cooper Union for The Advancement of Science and Art, in New York, provides some of the history and explains why and how the arrangement was entered into. After having laid the groundwork with the Office of Education and the Ford Foundation, Lloyd Morrisett and Joan Cooney came to see him:

> They needed a home for this project. I met with Joan on many occasions and with Lloyd on a number of occasions in the development of that. We devised a letter of agreement between the Children's Television Workshop—which name they had invented by that point—and NET. It said that we would provide the legal tent and the fiscal tent under which this could operate. The government and the Ford Foundation had to have a place to which they could give the money. We had it. For our part, the board of NET and I would be helpful in any and every way we could by providing whatever advice and assistance we deemed wise or Joan requested. We would handle and assume responsibility for the expenditure of dollars, but we would not interfere with the development of the program. The CTW was to be a self-enclosed entity under the direction of Joan Cooney, and it was so established.
>
> Joan's relationship with me was almost pro forma, except that on a table of organization it would show her reporting to me. Now it worked very well between the two of us. We never had a second's problem, simply because she knew what she was doing. One of the reasons it worked so well is because Joan had learned, as I had learned, from some of the mistakes at PBL and we avoided them. It was a totally honest relationship.
>
> It needs to be said that the first letter of agreement was—as were the grants—for one year only. If you remember, the grants were originally for one year only, at which time the whole matter was to be reviewed. At that point—it's different now—they didn't know what shape "Sesame Street" would take after its first year. It could be a failure and go out of existence. It was conceivable that at that point they might want to go to film, they thought, and become a film program—or they might want to go commercial. It also needs to be said that we agreed, if you remember, that as part of the grant

> from the government, even in that first year, there were to be some commercial outlets in several places in the country.
>
> Also as part of that letter of agreement and review at the end of the first year, we recognized that it might want to be more closely integrated with us or it might want to go independent. It was in our conversations. I think Joan will say this decision to go independent. . . was a natural result of a review that had been expected. . . . The review of where it should be located and in what form was expected from the very first day we discussed it.

From a practical standpoint, Mr. White feels, it made sense for Joan Cooney and Lloyd Morrisett to make such an arrangement because they knew it would be relatively easy to work with his administration. Second, NET had the distribution facilities, which posed a problem for anyone contemplating a daily venture before there was any assurance of long lines availability. NET's distribution system was based on tape duplication. Third, there was the NET affiliate structure which could be useful in building relations with stations. Fourth, they needed a corporate organization that could accept funds on a tax-free basis.

The letter of agreement, dated March 20, 1968, represented, in fact, the determination of the backers that the fledgling enterprise should have every opportunity to grow untrammeled by unnecessary pressures. It was a formal expression of the unanimous desire to see that Cooney and company could pursue an independent course. It was understood clearly by the signatories that, from a practical standpoint, the new Policy Board would limit its concerns to the broadest policy matters, such as whether the executive director would be retained or replaced in case of death. Excerpts from the agreement follows:

> . . . The Board of Directors of NET will accept ultimate responsibility for the funds and administration related to this Project.
>
> Because of the experimental nature of this Project and the diversified support which makes it possible, we propose that there be created a Project Policy Committee to include a representative from Carnegie Corporation, the Ford Foundation, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the NET Board of Directors and the President of NET. This Committee will represent the interests of the founders, contributors to, and participants in the Project, and in that capacity will exercise general supervision over CTW's administrative policies and serve as advisors to the NET Board. The committee will meet on call from any one of its members or at the request of the Executive Director of CTW.
>
> . . . The Children's Television Workshop will report, through the Executive Director, to the President of NET. The CTW will have its own Production Department, Research and Evaluation Department, Promotion and Utilization Department, and Administration, Business Affairs and Financial Department, the heads of which will report to the Executive Director of CTW.
>
> . . . The Children's Television Workshop will conduct its own business, fiscal, administrative and operational affairs, but will take advantage of existing augmented NET services.
>
> . . . It is agreed that NET will turn over all rights acquired for CTW material to the Project, without charge should the Project sever relationship. . . .

The Policy Board met only once, at the request of Joan Cooney. She recalls that relations between herself and John White were excellent all the way through.

ORGANIZING FOR PRODUCTION INDEPENDENCE

In the NET case, we see the same concern with maintaining creative independence that is expressed in CTW management attitudes toward funding sources of all kinds. To those who have not directly experienced editorial control struggles, such concern may appear excessive, even paranoic. Many considerations other than the purely programmatic may affect content, depending on whose interests are thought to be affected. Broadcast management must cope with many pressures ranging from government agencies and political groups and politicians to business, labor and various community organizations, all of whom see their destinies tied in to some degree with what occurs on the television screen. Funding sources, too, may have their particular sensitivities about areas that are best left unexplored. All of which is finally expressed in what appears on the home screen. The programmer always seeks to protect his freedom to create and produce in terms of what is best for the program, and therefore the audience, regardless of the special interests of particular groups or individuals. The conflict is perennial and deep, and difficult to resolve in practice, even where there is goodwill on all sides.

The spirit of creative independence burns fiercely at the Children's Television Workshop. It is fair to say that this organization cannot be understood apart from that spirit. Another way to state it is that the central aim of the organizational plan, beginning with relations between the CTW and the funding sources and extending into the relations of the departments with each other, the top management and the outside world, is to so arrange the elements as to *insulate program production from potentially harmful political, social, economic or internal management pressures.*

INSULATING PRODUCTION FROM OUTSIDE PRESSURES

It begins with the appointment of the project director and the relations established at the outset with funding sources. Joan Cooney insisted, in her conversations with Lloyd Morrisett, that the only hope for success lay in an agreement by the funding sources that a strong project director would be appointed who would have full control of the project. This meant agreement in advance that there would be no interference with the actual course of program development. Here are Mrs. Cooney's comments on this point:

> The one thing I kept saying over and over again, and got Lloyd to back me up wherever we went, was: "The project can't succeed if you will not appoint an executive director you trust and say, we'll leave that person alone." And when my appointment was argued over a little bit, I said to Lloyd: "Make sure you don't ram me through for them, because it is essential to the success of the project that they appoint someone they trust and can leave alone." So that was built in. They were very intelligent people from the funding sources. All this was done prior to getting the money, and the money was given with that understanding. You can't negotiate it after you have the money.

The clear-cut arrangements with the funding sources enabled Joan Cooney and colleagues to work unhindered and free of energy-sapping pressures during the all-important preparatory period. It enabled them to concentrate on the most important program development, distribution and information needs.

Once the program reached the air, various demands began to be made on the CTW by segments of the population. The Cooney practice is to field all outside approaches, requests and demands on a top administrative level, keeping the program people insulated in this respect. This does not mean that they are not aware of what may be transpiring between the organization and outside groups. But they are not expected to pay any attention to, or respect the wishes of, outsiders so far as program content or treatment is concerned.

It is up to the united front of board chairman, president and vice-president of administration to shield the production group, Mrs. Cooney maintains. She also notes that it is a good deal easier to do this when one is dealing from the strong base of success. The crucial period, in her opinion, was the first year and a half, when Lloyd Morrisett, as already indicated, fought consistently for insulation in the early funding contracts.

Previewing material for possible use on "Sesame Street" are Joan Cooney, Sam Gibbon, David Connell, and Jon Stone.

Michael Dann comments on the question of independence from the vantage point of two decades in the program executive ranks of NBC and CBS:

> At the outset, they [the CTW] were an absolutely self-contained independent unit. There never was any interference or pressure upon them from anybody from the outside. They were able to devote themselves to the project on that basis. Nobody from the outside knew anything about how to solve it, nobody in commercial broadcasting, nobody in government. The educators didn't. A few professional cranks did. I knew I didn't know the way, and I certainly was more familiar with problems like this in planning large shows, whether "Today," "Tonight" or "Wide, Wide World."
>
> They were left alone—to fail for themselves. In turn they became their own worst taskmasters because they drove themselves. They had no hostilities to vent on people above. They just didn't spend long times in long meetings with outside people just filling them in, which would have been unproductive. I'm sure they did have progress report meetings, but essentially it was a self-contained unit that was not an adjunct of any other organization. That independence was fundamental to the creative process. And out of that came a spirit, a sense of pride, a "nationalism," an effort on the part of all concerned. . . it became their baby, not something spewed out of a big organization. They weren't apologizing for any other activities going on, or receiving credit for any other activities going on. They had

one thing in common, one effort, and that was "Sesame Street." It was an independent effort. It was something about which they were all quite willing to say: make or break—this is it. And put all their eggs in one basket for the period that this went through and acted as such. And it was this freedom from distraction, and fiery independence that made for so much of the vitality of the program and the success of the program and the creative process as anything else.

There have been examples historically, the "Today" show, for example. That unit was a separate entity, and operated by itself. It was a great success in the beginning. They used to try things. They'd put the show in the RCA Exhibition Hall window. . . . They had great spirit. It was a large organization, almost as large as "Sesame Street." And it was all just gung ho. It was very exciting to be part of it.

As it was in the early days of the "Philco Playhouse," when Tad Mosel and Sumner Locke Elliott and Horton Foote and all the young directors, George Roy Hill, Bob Mulligan, Arthur Penn, all the ones who have made it big. . . it was the great breeding ground. Just like the WPA. Just like the theater that was run here by Orson Welles. And Arthur Miller and Clifford Odets and all those people were involved with it. So many great people from that WPA theatre of the 1930s. They "spirited" each other on. It was infectious. That infectious atmosphere of independence, of autonomous activity, spread and gave as much vitality to the creative process as can exist.

The same thing happened here with "Sesame Street." It was a spark that jumped through the organization and exists today.

It is incorrect for me to ever say that you can plan a spark like you can by rubbing metal and stone together. There have been times in my history when programs have been brought together that have failed. As I look back over the years of having put together anywhere from two to five hundred programs, I see that I never had success with a major project at any time without it having been run as an independent operation. Never once have I been able to effectively move a major effort forward in television when I have been intimately involved. I found that the most dangerous thing for me to do was to move out on a bureaucratic basis. So much so, that by the time I reached the end of my tenure at CBS I never looked at tests or rough cuts or went to studios or looked at things on a moviola. I always felt that I reached the make-or-break point of my project when I picked the executive head. . . and I had to let him run with it. If he made a blunder, or if the show failed, or it wasn't making progress, my alternative was never to move in under him—it would be to change him.

There were times when I did change executive heads of an operation or division. . . . I would never have changed an element under him because he lived with it. . . and in the creative world, unless you've lived with something, you don't understand what the problems are. Therefore, as we

> look back now, that independence allowed this unit, particularly by the government. . . in many ways was the unbelievable contribution which, more than the money, contributed to the success of the Workshop.

Here Dann touches on one of the key elements in a sound organizational structure devised for creative ends. His additional comments, although meant generally, are an accurate description of the CTW management philosophy as it applied to production. Top management, from this standpoint, disciplines itself not to play a direct and active role in the creative process. It limits itself to general direction and support. This calls for a high degree of mutual trust. When the relationship is sound, it is reflected downward in a manner that releases creative staff energies.

> I never gave up control, but I never *exercised* control. You must have a good line of communication with the producer himself—not with somebody in the organization. You should have periodic meetings with him, provide him with good moral support. If you are dissatisfied with what he is doing, you change the head man. You never have the head man change what he is doing. You just don't. That is impossible. The unit head—whatever organization it is, big or small—must never interfere with something going on underneath him if it's the creative process because it gets back to what Samuel Goldwyn said: "You can't pay the people not to come to the theater." In other words, you can't force your ideas on somebody who thinks something different. You can only change that person. Unless you do that, you will have total disaster.
>
> That is the only rule that is absolutely sure—that if you interfere with the creative process below the level of the man who is in charge of that unit, you will have total chaos. That is universal and always happened to me. Every time I got involved below the rank of the producer, or I asked the producer to do something he didn't want to do, it was effected on a disaster basis, because it was halfhearted or it wasn't done right. I don't say he was trying to sabotage. He cannot execute what he doesn't believe. *The creative process requires maximum enthusiasm, maximum work hours, maximum excitement, none of which can be motivated by ordering. It's something that springs from within and is conditioned by what happens on the outside.*

HOW TOP MANAGEMENT RELATES TO PRODUCTION

While top management administers the overall operation, it maintains a low profile so far as programming itself is concerned. In practice, it respects the authority of the executive producer and his staff so far as content and treatment are concerned, only rarely participating directly. As a result, the producers and the writers say they enjoy a creative freedom virtually unknown elsewhere.

It is worth underscoring once more that although this preeminence in the decision-making process is cherished by programming and recognized by the rest of the organization, including top management, programming does not run, or dictate to, the others who function as equal members of a common *project*.

The relationship of top management to production is shown in these comments by a production executive:

> Joan and Lloyd, the two people who really fashioned this organization and run it, have never lost sight of the fact that it is a creative operation that makes this organization function.

> It has been a delightful experience to work here because of that. Joan was totally supportive. She said: "Now I don't want to set up any lines of communication directly between production and funding sources. I don't want them calling you up and saying, 'What are you doing, and why are you doing it?' They will all come through me. My function is to be the buffer.". . . That was terribly important in nurturing the atmosphere. She has also been very good to work with in terms of creative disagreements. She's never been dictatorial, though she's always let her views be known. . . and she is often willing to be talked out of something. She's very straightforward, and will often say: "Now I feel this way about it, but if you feel strongly, that's fine." In other cases, she'll say: "I feel very strongly, and here are my reasons." If one is going to work in this business anywhere, I can't think of a better place to work. As a result we attract people.

Executive producer David Connell describes the Cooney relationship with the new "The Electric Company":

> She doesn't know as much about reading and the reading problem as I do, much less Sam Gibbon (producer of "The Electric Company"), after a year and a half of intensive study. In addition, she's been busy because this organization has mushroomed. So she had almost nothing to do with the development of "The Electric Company." Of course, we come back to her and say: "Here's where we are," if she comes in and asks, "How are you doing?" or if she wants to read a few scripts. We just brief her now and try to arrange for her to see a show tomorrow afternoon. We went off and developed the format on our own, came back and said: "Here it is,". . . and she says: "If you think that's going to work–fine." Part of it, of course, I think, is that she has confidence in us, because we delivered once. Part of it is that she is just too busy with all the myriad of complications.

"Sesame Street" producer Jon Stone adds:

> In three years of doing this show, there hasn't been one word of any interference from any of the funding organizations, or the government or anybody else. Nothing has happened at the functioning level to interfere. When Joan herself is under

Ed Palmer, Jane O'Connor, Tom Kennedy, Bob Davidson, and Ron Weaver meet in CTW office.

> pressure or under fire from someone, if she personally feels something is wrong, she has called me or Dave or whoever is most immediately involved, and said: "This is how I feel about it, but you're the guys that I hired to do the show and so far you've made most of the right decisions. I just thought I'd let you know what's going on, and now you can do it or not." She's done that more than once. And more than once, we've decided not to do it.

Writers tend to be highly sensitive to the matter of censorship, for it is at the script stage that executive or outside interference tends to manifest itself most nakedly. In the television world, the writer's dream is to be allowed to work as his creative talent directs, untrammeled by the demands and tastes of those who are not really integral to the production process. The CTW comes as close as any organization has to date in providing this kind of environment for the writer. Its effect on morale is evident in these remarks by head writer for "Sesame Street," Jeff Moss:

> One of the reasons I've been happy here is because Jon [Stone] and I, and the other people who put it together in the beginning, were left absolutely, 100 percent alone. There were no sponsors looking over our backs. Joan Cooney wasn't looking over our backs. I'd say that in two full seasons of "Sesame Street," Joan Cooney has made two comments to us about either do this or don't do this on the show. We were left alone. She said: "Put on a television show." She knew she had the people to do it.

A similar relationship exists between the executive producer, the producer and the head writer, according to Moss:

> An executive producer has to have an overview. And he has to know when to stay out. He has to know that he is the one to have the last word if it's necessary, but that he ought to be awfully slow in using that, because he's hired the producer and the head writer to do it for him. He can say: "Gee, I don't think that's good." But he's not going to tell me how to fix it. He can say: "I don't like this," and I'll say: "Fine," or: "I'll do something else for you." But he never has said nor would Joan Cooney ever say it: "Do your television like that, and this is what I think the bit should be like," because that's my job. The producer of this show happens to be the creative rock on which it was founded. One of the reasons I feel we've worked so well together is because what he's best at is coming up with the sort of new things that have been untried before, new formats and new settings. What I happen to be best at, once these outlines have been laid, is that I go run with them and do more with them, hopefully, than he would have thought possible. The creative control on this show right now is Jon Stone, number one, and underneath it, me—and that's it.

CHAPTER FOUR

ROLE OF THE PROFESSIONAL ADVISOR

One of the many achievements of the Workshop has been the successful fusion of production, professional education, and research. Together, they make up the CTW's programming. In other words, programming under these conditions cannot be considered separately from the other elements; it consists as much of them as of the traditional production and creative elements. The conventional program team consists of a producer, director, writer, screen talent and technical crew. Sometimes an advisor will be on hand in the planning or production stage when a particular requirement for authority in a subject area exists. The CTW program team also incorporates the educator, researcher as basic new elements, there from the outset. They are part of the process of conception, creation and production.

HOW DEPARTMENTAL FUSION IS EXPRESSED IN PRODUCTION

The present system is a direct outgrowth of the developmental phase. "Sesame Street" began with a three-way partnership, as educators, researchers and programmers cooperated in hammering out educational goals. The goals had to be:

- educationally sound;
- practical from a television production standpoint;
- amenable, at least in part, to measurement.

The "Sesame Street" writer begins with an assignment sheet which contains the educational goals. These goals have been finally selected by the program department as those which, among the list developed by the educators, are most suitable for television treatment. The particular emphasis and treatment of the goal for each program are the province of the writer, based on segment lengths suggested by the assignment sheet. He also draws on the research findings, fed to him on a continuing basis, that direct him to what has proven most effective in holding attention and conveying instruction.

An associate producer representing the educational group examines each script for goal soundness.

During production itself, a monitoring system connecting studio and headquarters television sets permits continual screening by researchers and educators, as desired, during the production process, for curriculum purposes.

The completed program materials and programs are tested by the research department on children in viewing centers. Results are fed back to production on a continuing basis, and the process begins anew with the writer.

A representative of the financial department works closely with the program and research executives to maintain budget control during the production process.

Throughout, a close relationship is maintained with the information department, which is quick to feed any newsworthy developments into the publicity channels.

NEW GROUND

In succeeding with the fusion of the three elements in the program development process, the Children's Television Workshop has broken new ground:

- It has found a dynamic, constructive use for the professional advisor.
- It has demonstrated conclusively that research can be used as an integral part of program development and that its contribution can be so vital to the welfare of the enterprise as to make it a mandatory component from the standpoint of the programmers and management alike.

This fusion is not a fortuitous development, but an operational pattern conceived and planned for in advance.

The inspiration was the grasp of the fundamental idea that, given the pioneering ambitions of the project, the hoped-for melding of professional advisor, researcher and programmer could come about only if: they were elements in the original nuclear team; and a deliberate, conscious effort was made to bring it about.

A NEW ORGANIZATION REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE THE FUSION

The merging of the educational, research and television worlds was a key element in the early decision to create a new organization rather than farm out the production responsibility to an existing program company. There were several such companies with outstanding records that appeared quite suitable. The decision to go the workshop route was fundamental.

Joan Cooney was out to create a "Tiffany jewel." She intended to do something that had not been done before—to marry educators to producers. You could not superimpose that on a structure that is operating in another way, especially a successful structure, she concluded, after considerable discussion with highly experienced television professionals.

Mrs. Cooney maintains there is no way of involving animators at such a company in the kind of intense give-and-take process that the producers and writers would be living through, in which they would have the ultimate responsibility for formulating the curriculum goals. They are accustomed to other ways of working, particularly because they have been so successful at it:

> It would be apples and oranges. You just can't take an organization like that and turn it to a new idea. It would go back to its ways of doing things. It is successful in what it does. It is much harder to work with a highly successful organization than with one that is trying to find its way. I would much rather take an organization that is trying to find its way than one that is very set in the way it does things. Remember, *we are talking about a marriage*—not researchers to work as consultants to producers. Now that is very different from having Ed Palmer [research vice-president] go to an outside animator to get something. . . . We were by then talking about a product that would come out of a marriage—living together, dealing together, drinking together, eating together, until they all would absolutely understand what that product looked like. You have to create an organization for that.

At the same time, she acknowledges that a new organization as such is not necessarily a universal solution, that it may be just as fruitful to go to an existing organization if there is calendar pressure that cannot otherwise successfully be responded to, or if the project aims are not as ambitious or radical as those of the Cooney-Morrisett team.

The situation changes once the basics have been hammered out and there are program specifications that can be handed to an animation house. "Sesame Street" animation is an out-of-house function, contracted out to a list of leading animators on the East and West Coasts.

EDUCATIONAL GOAL—TELEVISION ENTERPRISE

This brings us to one of the fundamental features of the CTW model: *Although its aim is the direct education of its young target audience, operationally it is a television enterprise, directed and controlled by the television, rather than the educational, practitioners. In effect, the television production team utilizes the knowledge and talents of the educational sector through the instrumentality of the advisor. It is the reverse of the conventional educational television project in which educators utilize television skills through the instrumentality of producing and writing talents.*

In the CTW case, the line of program command goes directly from former television producer Joan Cooney to executive producer David Connell to producers Jon Stone for "Sesame Street" and Sam Gibbon for "The Electric Company." Joan Cooney regards herself as a television person, rather than an educator. This accounts for the continuing stress on program appeal and the concentration on the challenge of producing an *entertaining* series that can hold its own against commercial competition.

Says Joan Cooney:

> There's no question but that we thought we were doing something that was a radical departure here. It was to have been the first time educational aims—very serious educational aims —were to be embodied in a mass entertainment form, that we would use and co-opt those popular mass entertainment forms and have in charge of this educational project, producers, not educators. That was a vast change in educational television—in that the bosses were the entertainers, not the educators.

To producer Jon Stone, who lived through the whole process, the decision to put proven commercial television talents in charge is the key to everything that followed:

> It ultimately governed the look, the feel, and consequently the success of the television program. What this experiment is, is a marriage of production and education. Educational television has historically begun with the educators, who develop a television show out of what they know. What they did in this case, was do it the other way around—that is, hire the producers and then bring in the educators to educate the producers through a series of seminars and meetings—and a year and a half of really hard work in learning what we needed to know in order to do this.
>
> But then, the production decisions were made by producers, not by educators. The research department, the educational advisors, the board of advisors, all of these people exist within the Children's Television Workshop solely for the function of advising the producers what we should be doing with the television show, and then we make the decisions on how to do it.

Does this mean that every project must follow this example? Not necessarily. Otherwise, it would be impossible for educators, government, foundations and others to initiate and organize useful projects. What is indicated by the model is the recognition that the basic challenge is a *media* challenge, and that therefore it is the media professional who should be in the decision-making position when it comes to the final screen product, *not just in terms of its technical and production quality, but its curriculum goals as well.*

The initiative that resulted in "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company" came, not from a television professional, but from a foundation executive with a background and interest in research. Moreover, the president of the organization had no commercial, major-league television experience herself, her background being limited to public affairs production for a television station. In other words, the idea may start with anyone. It is where and in whom the program decision-making authority is lodged that counts.

Obviously, it is helpful if the chief executive is seasoned by media experience, since he can move swiftly and surely in the various specialized areas that make up the television complex. But direct experience in every phase of television life is probably not mandatory—otherwise Joan Cooney, who is the first to admit her limitations in this regard, could never have succeeded in the job. What matters is whether the project leader has the mental scope and the security of personality to shore up the operation with qualified professionals and able executives.

The important requirement is the project leader's commitment to the television side of the effort, that is, he must be able to think as a television practitioner engaged in a difficult, highly competitive undertaking and follow the organizational logic implicit in that commitment.

ROLE OF THE ADVISOR—AN EFFECTIVE NEW DEPARTMENT

Once it is clearly established that we are dealing with a *media* project designed to achieve curriculum aims, that the goals will be articulated primarily through the input of the educational advisors, and finally selected by the producing unit, it becomes possible to work for a clear-cut relationship between the two elements.

In effect, the educational advisor in the CTW functions as though he were a staff member; operationally, the board of advisors appears as a department of the CTW. This achievement has as much significance for the future of television—commercial as well as educational—as anything the Workshop has done. It is possibly the least understood of the organizational initiatives of the CTW, probably because the term "advisor" carries with it the traditional connotation of an ancillary service which has a secondary role. The term suggests a relationship which is occasional and peripheral. The case is quite the opposite in Workshop life, and has been from the first days of the project.

A more suitable term in the CTW case would be "educational professional." As an integral member of the Workshop team, his is the function of building the curriculum goal-base, working with the producers and researchers. He is paid for his services and is expected to devote part of his professional working time accordingly.

For example, the advisory board's chairman, Dr. Gerald S. Lesser, Bigelow Professor of Education and Developmental Psychology, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, devotes half-time to the Workshop and is paid an annual fee. Dr. Shirley Feldman, associate professor of education, the City College of the City University of New York, and chairman of the subcommittee on nonbroadcast materials, devotes one day a week to CTW affairs. Joan Cooney does not think of these individuals as advisors, but as "staff."

> We never wanted our board of advisors to be an "outside independent board." They were not meant to pass judgment on what we were doing. They were meant to come in and grub around with us, and we pay them to do that. . . . They are not there to "kosher" us. It was not set up that way. Sometimes our lawyers will say to us: "Gee, you don't have an outside independent board of advisors," and I say, "No, we learned that from PBL" [the Public Broadcast Laboratory] . . . that they weren't to come in and tell you what to do. They were to come in and live your problems with you and then give you their best advice. And we're free to take it or reject it. They are part of the staff as far as we are concerned. They're part-time staff; we're full-time staff.

The statement: "They're part-time staff; we're full-time staff," captures the character of the relationship that the Cooney-Morrisett team set out to build even before their proposal had been written. Two important steps were taken at the beginning. The first was the feasibility study which enabled Joan Cooney to consult with leading educators, researchers, psychologists and television professionals. The second was bringing in Dr. Gerald S. Lesser as a member of the original planning group, and then executive assistant Robert Davidson, executive producer David Connell, producer Sam Gibbon and writer Jon Stone. This was the original planning team. Lloyd Morrisett stepped back into an advisory role.

Lesser, the professional in educational research and development, and Davidson were the keys to the successful building of the kind of advisory board envisioned. The planners could also now tackle the question of how to create the new relationships between the researchers, the educators and the media professionals.

At the Workshop one hears more about this period of the developmental phase than anything else. Internally, it is recognized by producers and researchers alike as the critical period, when the foundations for success were laid. The process by which this success was achieved was carefully planned. It began with the first meetings between Joan Cooney and Dr. Lesser. Lesser had had years of experience on television as an advisor on children's programming, notably with NBC; experience which Joan Cooney considers critical in the development of the Workshop. He recalls their first conversation, in 1967, at lunch:

> At that point Joan was essentially saying that the two basic areas were: What should the show set out to teach? That is, what kinds of educational objectives make sense for an undertaking of this kind? How am I to go about teaching these things? . . . But those production decisions were down the road. The second general topic beyond the educational content issue is the broad area of research—that is, in what way can research contribute to the development of a project of this kind? My own field being educational research, I saw these two issues not as necessarily revolving around the question of what educational contents the show should set out to teach, but how we could arrive at a procedure by which we could make those decisions intelligently. In other words, she and I, over our first lunch, weren't going to say, okay, we should teach subjects X, Y and Z, but okay, here are some examples of the kinds of things that seem interesting. How can we develop a mechanism by which we can get some intelligent input on that issue from academic and preschool teachers, from anybody around the country who could give us some useful advice in that area? Then, of course, the second broad area would be the contributional research for a project of this kind. What can research do? What should you not expect it to do? What kind of apparatus can you construct in order to have some useful input from that source?

Dr. Lesser tells the story of the origin of the advisory board and how the various elements in the Workshop mix were brought together to hammer out basic approaches in *Children and Television: Lessons from Sesame Street*, a book not yet completed during the period of this inquiry. Starting with the knowledge that the television medium imposes unavoidable constraints on any open-circuit educational effort directed to children, he set about to find a *process* for generating goals. His starting point was the observation that Joan Cooney's original proposal to the funding agencies stated her intention of setting up a "national board of advisors and consultants"

> that would not act to "kosher" a product created by others but actually would contribute substantially to the design and implementation of the project. With only a few tremors of shocked surprise by board members over being asked to provide more than window dressing, the board was formed, went to work, and began to deliver ideas about educational goals and methods that provided a base from which a creative television staff could begin to operate.

Gerald S. Lesser, Chairman of the Board of Advisors.

ROLE OF THE PROFESSIONAL ADVISOR

Excerpt from:
"The First Year of Sesame Street: A History and Overview." Vol. I
by the staff of the Children's Television Workshop.

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Dr. Joachim F. Wohlwill, Professor of Psychology, Clark University

The board's first responsibility, he writes, was: "... to plan and conduct a series of seminars to identify the premises from which educational goals could be specified and then to develop an explicit statement of these goals."

These seminars are the bedrock experience of "Sesame Street." And they were by no means simple, harmonious sessions. There were five, running three days each, during the spring and summer of 1968. Dr. Lesser points out that there was the inevitable rambling, confusion and disorderliness to be expected when many different kinds of expertise are brought together to participate in such a meeting. There was considerable conflict between the educators and researchers who sought rational solutions along traditional lines, and show business-oriented television practitioners and book writers who tended to be turned off by the educators' jargon and to resist any attempt to depart from intuitive creative ways. There were some serious problems of communications, Lesser notes, as "crosscurrents" appeared based on both professional and personal differences.

Some of the confrontations experienced in these seminars probably can be expected to be repeated whenever such groups gather. Those unacquainted with the specialized language of the profession in question tend to resent what they regard as its inconsiderate and often unnecessary use, while the user finds it easy to hide behind a barrier of language his hearers have difficulty comprehending. The non-academic, in particular, tends to resent overuse of jargon, and will usually explode, as Dr. Lesser reports, into some form of, "Why don't you speak English!"

> The typical academic reply was that they indeed were speaking English and were addressing the issue, that the artists and practitioners deliberately were misunderstanding, and that they would easily follow the meaning and relevance of the discussion if they only made the effort. Often, the non-academics' protest seemed justified. But the reply of the academics did at times have merit. . . . Whatever the justifications and counterarguments, these confrontations were useless to the task of defining educational objectives.

There was a recurrent, and in Dr. Lesser's view, fundamental conflict over the use of creative intuition or deliberate analysis in designing material for children. Although this conflict was never completely resolved, there was generally the agreement as an end product that goodwill on both sides had to be granted as the group continued its goal-setting effort.

Dr. Lesser summarizes these discussions:

> The artists, children's book writers, filmmakers, performers—those professionals who must rely upon and trust their intuitions—often vehemently protested the imposing of objective, abstract analysis upon the creative act of inventing television for children. They contended that any book, film, music or television program—indeed all creative products—can only be conceived intuitively and lovingly, with the creator drawing freely upon his own fantasies, feeling, and experiences; the dissection of deliberate thought and methodical planned analysis destroys the naturalness that must be inherent in the product.
>
> The timing of these protests. . . was unpredictable, but they often occurred when it appeared that the academics were dissecting not only the creative product but the child himself, dividing and classifying his mind and heart into "symbolic representations," "cognitive processes," and "self-concept." This apparent mutilation of the child through analysis and the simultaneous mutilation of the intuitive, creative process converged into what seemed to be an act of unnatural

> depravity, another chilling expression of a mechanical society.
>
> Since the seminars' purpose was the rational selection of educational premises and the goals derived from them, no progress could be made without some resolution of this objection. Temporary armistices usually took this form: Academics and educators—presumably the thinkers and analyzers—acknowledged the necessity of intuition in designing creative materials but argued that adding some elements of analysis in deliberate planning need not smother that necessary intuition. The protesters were skeptical of this compromise, but they also were eager to avoid a stalemate. They agreed that since we were meeting to exchange thoughts about the goals of a children's television series, we should proceed in the unlikely hope that thought and intuition were not inevitably incompatible. No one really was convinced, but the confrontation usually ran its course in this way and then everyone went back to the work of redefining the goals for the series.
>
> Having agreed to plan and analyze, the artists and children's book writers made heroic efforts to do so and indeed did contribute greatly. Their contributions were substantive and, in addition, their presence acted as a constant reminder of our ultimate purpose to design creative television programs for real children. As obvious as this was, the reminder did restrain esoteric conversation.

Clearly, everything depends on the quality and flexibility of the participants, particularly the academics. The choice of the academics is critical and must be approached with care. As with the rest of the CTW preparation, the choosing was not haphazard or casual. Too much depended on the outcome. Lesser, realizing that he would be placing his colleagues in an unfamiliar role, in which they would not be reacting to the work of others but originating and inventing on their own in an area where there was little background on which to draw, laid down some requirements to help in making the selections:

> Prior productivity on a related topic; eagerness (or at least willingness) to think hard about an odd-sounding topic—television for children—that many academics might dismiss as trivial; sense of humor and agility of mind; ability to think cooperatively with nonscholars outside their academic field; openness accompanied by the inclination to avoid punishing others verbally while converting meetings into sessions where debating points are won and lost, but the job does not get done.
>
> Those academics who succeeded in contributing constructively seemed to relegate their detailed knowledge to function as background music; the information was there in the backs of their minds and they listened to it when it was relevant, but focus was maintained on the task at hand. . . . Further, they restrained themselves from giving the eloquent, practiced speeches that display expertness but do not push the group's planning ahead.

One of the problems that emerged was an academic tendency to conclude from an explanation of what is involved in child development that teaching children in basic ways through televison is impossible. Discussions would get bogged down in traditional academic issues such as the difficulty of defining the term "perception," the absence of studies on differences in perceptual skills between advantaged and disadvantaged children and on whether perceptual skills can be trained. Dr. Lesser's comments here can serve as a useful guide to anyone contemplating similar seminars:

> This perseverating over issues that professional academics perennially argue among themselves delayed, and at the worst, undermined useful conversation. Basic theoretical and empirical questions cannot be ignored, of course, when they are relevant, but Talmudic haggling over traditional problems was one clear expression of unintended hindrance. At this point, a clear guide emerged. Very few invitees to each seminar refused to attend, and most who did refuse claimed previous commitments. Others gave substantive reasons: They did not accept the importance of the mission, or argued that television could not possibly be educationally effective by citing its limitations as a teaching tool, or doubted their professional personal qualifications to contribute. On occasion, when an invitee doubted his qualifications on what seemed to be false modesty, we encouraged attendance and sometimes were accepted. Out of these experiences a guiding principle emerged: *When a person says that he cannot be helpful, believe him.*

There was no doubt in Dr. Lesser's mind that the preschool teachers were essential to curriculum planning. Not only do they have extensive experience daily with the target audience, but also in curriculum planning for that audience. In addition, they must deal with the question of how to combine the various classroom techniques, including television, most effectively. At the outset of the seminars, the status differences between them and the academics arose. Traditionally, Lesser writes: "The academic speaks and the teacher listens. No good reason exists for this arrangement, but it has evolved through the years and congealed into place."

Fortunately, as the meetings progressed, these differences began to lose their importance, and, particularly when the full group was divided up into smaller units, there was freer exchange.

Finally, the CTW creative staff kept the seminars on target, constructing a set of educational goals that could be handled through television:

> These reminders came naturally from the creative producers and writers on the many occasions when esoteric jargon was used by the participants. On these occasions the staff seemed to take on the characteristics of a Greek chorus, intoning repeatedly, "What do you mean by that? What do you mean by that?" This continued until adequate, simple explanation would be forthcoming. . . . These conditions clearly prevented technical discussions from spinning off into the stratosphere, with people believing or pretending that they understood each others' language and frames of reference, but not really doing so. The benefits to creative staff were equally apparent. By participating actively in all educational planning sessions, they had full opportunity to understand both the intent and meaning of the goals developed at all stages of curriculum planning.

As Joan Cooney recalls those days, the experience was not an easy one for the producers. They would become incensed at the jargon, and explode, certain that nothing could come out of the talk that would make a show. Then they would make another attempt to understand, with great seriousness.

Clearly, for such seminars to be productive, *all* the participants must know how to live in the world of give-and-take. Gerald Lesser sums up his impressions:

> A few observations were common to all participants no matter what their professional background. Everyone needed to break old habits of thought and apply himself with agility to a task without precedents. All needed to suppress practiced speeches designed to display cleverness and elegance of phrasing. Everyone needed to avoid punishing other participants verbally and to meet confrontations with humor and flexibility. With the constant risk of fragmented, nonconsecutive conversation in a large group, everyone had to adapt his behavior to avoid this. All needed to listen, and this required stamina. All needed to contribute to a momentum, an energy and liveliness that would keep the sessions moving ahead. Many succeeded and added greatly to the project's chances; some did not.

Additional insight, particularly into Dr. Lesser's handling of the seminars, is provided in a January, 1970, report by Dr. Daniel Ogilvie of Harvard University, who functioned as neutral observer to keep Lesser informed on what was really going on, to help keep a record of suggested objectives, to organize them for small-group discussion, to arrange the groups, and so forth. What his report makes clear is the need for planning, careful organization in advance, and skillful chairing of such seminars.

Ogilvie notes that the entire undertaking itself was experimental, and risky. To begin with, they would be costly—approximately $50,000—and there was little advance reason to expect they would really be productive. Some 20 specialists and professionals, researchers, scholars, artists, children's book writers, entertainers, classroom teachers, along with CTW creative staff and ten invited observers from sponsoring organizations and agencies, the great majority of whom had no experience with television, were to be involved in each. Each seminar was given a specific focus, which affected which academic specialists were invited: Seminar I—Social, Moral and Affective Development; Seminar II—Language and Reading; Seminar III—Mathematical and Numerical Skills; Seminar IV—Reasoning and Problem Solving; Seminar V—Perception.

About a month in advance, Lesser met with a small number of scholars to locate the important issues, divided a few of the major topics among them for the purpose of presenting brief orienting remarks on the first day of the seminar, recommend others in their field who were likely to make positive contributions. This was done for all five seminars.

Dr. Lesser has already commented on the characteristics of the effective seminar participant. Dr. Ogilvie reports an observation of the assistant director of the Workshop, Robert Davidson, that most of the academics who accepted the invitations were enthusiastic about the project when they heard about it. The idea of doing something significant for preschool children on television captured their imagination. They displayed an unexpected degree of commitment, says Ogilvie, to "making this thing work."

That commitment, in Ogilvie's opinion, was one of the main reasons why the seminars succeeded. The second reason was the skill with which Lesser conducted the meetings. Here is Ogilvie's description:

> First, Lesser made an explicit attempt to make personal contact with as many guests as possible before the first meeting. Sometimes this contact was not made until 10 or 15 minutes before the first morning session but everyone was made to feel welcome and initially, at least, an effort was made to make all feel important. . . . Lesser's ability to go around the

conference table and fringes of the room and introduce 30 or more individuals by name without error and state where they were from and often a sentence or two about their backgrounds was indeed impressive. His relaxed quality and open, direct and appealingly unpolished speech tended to put many at relative ease. By convincing people that in one way or another he liked and respected them, Lesser, later in the sessions, was able to indicate to an individual that he was "out of line," dealing on a false issue, or unnecessarily expanding a topic without that person feeling great amounts of hostility or embarrassment. If hostility was aroused and perceived, Lesser would attempt to allay these feelings during a conference break. But seldom were hurt feelings dealt with on an emotional level. *Rational* decision-making was the primary means of identifying goals for the workshop and suggesting possibilities. Other problems should be dealt with *rationally* as well. If a person needed to be redirected (or effectively shut up), he either did not understand the ground rules, had missed a point about the purpose of the seminar or suffered from some other sort of momentary confusion.

The seminars were precise in format. The first day's meeting was a full-group session. The morning session opened with an introduction of the guests followed by a statement of workshop and seminar goals. Joan Cooney spoke about television as a medium for entertainment and education. She provided seminar guidelines: That the medium has unique features of its own and should not be forced into a classroom framework; that the show *had to* be entertaining and capable of competing for audience with commercial television; that it had to appeal to older siblings in order to get them to turn the set on; that the program could not depend on parental involvement and therefore objectives and production recommendations should not count on adult participation. Thus, she attempted to create some boundaries for the discussions. She was followed by psychologist Dr. Sheldon White, who described the upper limits of 4-year-old children, that is, what one could reasonably expect a 4-year-old to learn and accomplish.

With orientation over, Lesser called on individuals he had talked with in the planning meetings to prepare comments and suggest objectives. Discussion followed each presentation. The aim of the first day was to air a wide variety of ideas and objectives and give each participant a chance to be heard, as well as to establish firmly the ground rules for the rest of the seminar.

At the end of the afternoon, Lesser's rappateurs organized their notes of the discussion. A list of the 10 or 12 most promising areas for discussion was drawn up. Copies were typed and distributed the following morning. At the same time, Lesser, "with the assistance of confidants," arranged the composition of the small groups that were to meet the next day. He sought to combine balance of specialization with human chemistry.

That night the group was shown appropriate films. One film, created by a group of primary school children, was particularly effective, it appears. Dr. Ogilvie is of the opinion that there was some value in such showings, in that the entire group could share a common visual experience.

The second day was devoted to small-group (there were four in number) discussion. These, particularly the afternoon meetings, produced the most useful production ideas. True productivity, according to Dr. Ogilvie, occurred in that one-half day out of the three.

The third morning was devoted to the majority and minority reports of the four groups. The seminar adjourned at noon.

Excerpt from:
"Report of Seminar I: Social, Moral and Affective Development"
Cambridge, Massachusetts June 26, 27, 28, 1968

SUMMARY OF SESSION I

(1st Day - Dr. Samuel Ball)

Social, Moral and Affective Development

A. Purposes of the Seminar

- suggest goals for the workshop
- generate ideas for production

B. Topics Suggested

1) Frank presentation of major life experiences -
    conflict and violence
    sex
    prejudice and injustice
    emotional situations, e.g., fear, anger

2) Explore positive emotions and attitudes - love, happiness, curiosity

3) The hang-ups associated with urban children's going to school.

C. Points to be Considered, Dangers and Questions

1) Dangers of exposing emotionality without providing an opportunity to work the feelings through

2) We must work with parents along with children

3) We must consider what we can do using TV and not work only from the point of what children need.

4) How far should you go - (on TV, of course) How do you end the presentation of emotions - resolved or unresolved?

5) You have to be very explicit to get a message across

6) We mustn't act as the spokesman of the Establishment

7) It is more important to have a warm host than technically excellent visuals

8) Concentrate on just a few goals

D. Goals Suggested

1) Identification and labelling of emotions

2) Raising the level of aspiration of the children

3) Increasing a child's curiosity about school and reducing the incidence of high fear reactions

4) Improving children's feelings of self-worth (self-esteem)

5) Developing listening attentively, concentrating, persistence (etc.)

(3, 4, 5 by implication from Sections B & C)

E. Research Suggested

1) Is intellectual catharsis related to emotional catharsis?

2) Can you, through puppets (etc.) put across a moral principle?

3) (See C.4)

4) If we present raw emotions will the children be able to cope?

5) Who do children (Negro and white) look at when various groupings are on the screen?

6) Will show on ETV perform differently as far as audience contact than if on commercial?

FINAL SUMMARY

Social, Moral and Affective Development

A. PURPOSES

1. To suggest goals for the Workshop.

2. To generate ideas for production.

B. TOPICS SUGGESTED:

1. Frank presentation of life experiences (e.g., conflict, violence, sex, prejudice, injustice, fear, anger).

2. Exploration of positive emotions and attitudes (e.g., love, excitement, happiness, curiosity).

3. Examination of problem experiences on going to school for the first time and attempting to resolve those problems (e.g., allaying specific fears, pointing out what routines might exist, showing what classrooms are like).

4. Presentation of series showing what school is like (How to Succeed in School)

5. Indicating that there are different viewpoints for a given problem.

6. Body functions, doctors and hospitals, authority figures (et alii).

C. POINTS TO BE CONSIDERED:

1. Danger of exposing emotionality without providing personal follow-up.

2. Need to include parents in the watching of the show.

3. Need to consider the limitations of what can be done on TV.

4. Explicit messages are necessary for communication to be accurately received by four-year-olds.

5. It is better to resolve, or to leave unresolved, the presentation of emotions.

6. We mustn't act as spokesmen for The Establishment.

7. A warm host (hostess?) is necessary.

8. Concentrate on just a few goals.

9. Inability to control the conditions under which the child watches television.

10. Imitation of behavior exhibited by a model on film is most likely to occur if the model is shown as being reinforced for that behavior.

11. A model is imitated most strongly if it is seen as being strong and nurturant.

12. It is more aggression-arousing if the camera focuses on the

victim rather than on the perpetrator.

13. The Oregon study suggests that preschool Mexicans had an attention span of one minute at most for almost all TV films.

14. Children will imitate a TV model only if the model's behavior is congruent with the child's family behavior.

15. In the child's mind, the good guy is the one who is rewarded. (irrespective of the behavior of the characters on the screen).

16. Beware of "magical" solutions (e.g., The Ugly Duckling).

17. Provide models of the questioning child and the interested child (etc.)

18. Use a number of hosts and hostesses to overcome racial composition problems.

D. GOALS SUGGESTED:

1. Identification and labelling of emotions.

2. Raising the level of aspiration of the children.

3. Increasing a child's curiosity about school and reducing the incidence of high fear reactions.

4. Improving children's feelings of self-worth (self-esteem).

5. Developing listening attentively, concentrating, persistence (etc.).

6. The development of altruism.

7. Developing the control of impulses and accepting the delay of rewards.

8. Distinguishing reality from fantasy.

9. Providing a cognitive basis for the child's feelings (e.g., cognitive bases for examining violence).

10. Developing notions of casuality in people's behavior.

11. Developing personal effectiveness -- dealing with the environment.

12. "To prepare child for citizenship." (sic)

E. GENERAL RESEARCH AREAS SUGGESTED:

1. Is intellectual catharsis related to emotional catharsis?
2. Can you, through puppets (etc.) put across a moral principle?
3. If we present raw emotions, will the children be able to cope?
4. Who do children (Negro and white) look at when various groupings of characters are on the screen?
5. Will show on ETV perform differently as far as audience contact than if on commercial?
6. For a given situation, where do we point the camera to make the emotional content most striking?
7. Would children learn to be more moral (perform more moral acts) if they were taught little moral jingles a la Marlboro advertisements?
8. What problems does a child have on going to school for the first time?
9. How do children interpret the scenes they see?
10. Do children like watching children on children's TV?

PARTICIPANTS

Seminar on Social, Moral and Affective Development

Name	Title
Mr. Oscar Brand	Writer, Composer, Lyricist and Specialist in children's and folk music
Dr. Keith Connors	Director, Child Development Laboratory Department of Psychiatry, Massachusetts General Hospital
Reverend John M. Culkin, S.J.	Director, Center for Communications Fordham University
Dr. Leon Eisenberg	Chief of Psychiatry Massachusetts General Hospital

ROLE OF THE PROFESSIONAL ADVISOR

Mrs. Dorothy Hollingsworth	Director, Head Start Child Development Seattle (Washington) Public Schools
Dr. Lawrence Kohlberg	Visiting Associate Professor of Education, Harvard University Graduate School of Education
Dr. Gerald S. Lesser	Bigelow Professor of Education and Development Psychology Harvard University Graduate School of Education
Dr. Hylan G. Lewis	Professor of Sociology Brooklyn College, CUNY
Dr. Eleanor E. MacCoby	Professor of Psychology Stanford University
Dr. Salvador Minuchin	Professor of Child Psychiatry University of Pennsylvania Medical School
Mr. Paul Ritts	Puppeteer
Mrs. Annemarie Roeper	Headmistress, Roeper City and Country School
Mr. Maurice Sendak	Author and illustrator of children's books
Mr. Paul K. Taff	Director, Children's Programming, NET
Dr. Marion Walter	Assistant Professor of Education Harvard University Graduate School of Education
Dr. Sheldon H. White	Roy E. Larsen Professor of Educational Psychology, Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University Graduate School of Education

Staff: Children's Television Workshop

Mrs. Joan Ganz Cooney	Executive Director
Mr. David D. Connell	Executive Producer
Mr. Robert Davidson	Assistant Director
Mr. Jon Stone	TV Consultant

Mrs. Anne G. Bower	Associate Producer

Meeting Recorders

Miss Gloria Dapper

Miss Barbara Carter

OBSERVERS

Mrs. Bertha Campbell	Office of Economic Opportunity
Mr. Louis Hausman	Assistant Commissioner of Education Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Miss Anne Hopkins	General Learning Corporation
Miss Marjorie Martus	Assistant Program Officer, The Ford Foundation
Dr. Merrill Read	Director, Growth & Development Branch National Institute of Child Health & Human Development
Dr. Marion Sherman	Research Associate Department of Health, Education and Welfare

ROLE OF THE PROFESSIONAL ADVISOR

It was the list of educational goals developed by these seminars that was used by the creative staff to guide their efforts.

Whether similar results could have been obtained more simply, through the concentrated work of a few qualified professionals, is, of course, an open question. There were two effects, however, that were important to the conduct of the Workshop's future activities that could probably not have resulted from any but a seminar-type technique, in Dr. Ogilvie's view.

Sheldon White has suggested that the seminars

> provided the staff with the feeling that there had been a "massive laying on of hands"; a feeling that created a kind of confidence in the final list that otherwise would not have been inspired.
>
> More importantly, the seminars had been a forum for a thorough indoctrination of the staff—especially the producers. Though it would not have been apparent while sitting through some of the duller sessions, the fifteen days spent in conference were educational. All in all, the staff was given a background in developmental psychology. . . was exposed to various ways of thinking about children and, in the end, fully knew why one recommendation had been accepted and another rejected. The importance of this background should not be underestimated, for as one producer stated: "If I had not attended the seminars or if they had not been given, the advisory board may have given us a list of goals that I probably would not have understood."

Dr. Ogilvie concludes his report with the following evaluation of the seminars:

> . . . It took a great deal of courage and work to mobilize over 100 busy persons and request they direct their diverse knowledge and talents toward the fulfillment of another group's dream. It took an equal amount of optimism to think the results of the early experiment would be at all favorable. But, in a way, the success of the seminars forecast future and greater accomplishments of the Workshop; a fact that reflects both the dedication, skill and daring of the Workshop staff and the trust and freedom given them by their supporters.

A PRODUCER'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE SEMINARS

Another view is presented by executive producer David Connell, who begins by noting that Lloyd Morrisett and Joan Cooney established orientation that the CTW was a broadcast organization, that research, like administration, finance, the legal department, and so forth, existed to serve production—and that production had better pay attention to what they had to say. The seminars turned out to be a major experience for the staff:

> The tone was kept very consistent by Jerry emphasizing to the people sitting around these tables that they were there to help design a television program, not an educational project. So questions would come up like: "We don't see how you can teach this without having manipulables or supplementary materials in the hands of the parents." Before that conversation could get off the ground, Jerry would bang the table and say: "Damn it, that's not what we're talking about here! We're talking about a television program alone and trying to find out whether it would work without all that stuff." He was

> constantly keeping the focus on a television program to be watched by a child alone.
>
> There were those who would argue that a child should learn to read and write at the same time. That an important way for them to learn the alphabet is to actually write that and know that that's an *A*. They would argue that it was silly to try it any other way. And Jerry would say, "Silly or not, we're doing it. We're going to try and use that thing to teach kids to recognize those symbols."

One of the reasons the seminars worked, in Connell's judgment, was that the staff consisted of television professionals who had been given an assignment to reach and teach an audience they knew very little about. He and his associates were "desperate" to know more about them. They tried to find out whether one kind of letter was more difficult to learn than another, whether there was any difference in alphabet knowledge between middle-class and poor children, etc. The television professionals were unconcerned about their academic egos, since they had none to protect, and therefore felt unconstrained: "We were not afraid to ask the dumbest questions in the world, because we were not expected to know anything about these kids."

The production attitude toward advisors and research has been built into the fiber of the Workshop. Connell expresses it clearly when he recalls the period of creative effort and pilot program testing that led up to the premiere:

> When you produce a show, you're exposing yourself to the world. . . we were scared enough at that point, I think, so that we wanted all the help we could get. It's the overall attitude of the operation. We don't have to do anything these people tell us. We can do precisely what we want to do—but let's hear what they have to say about it. In some cases, people made suggestions that we ignored. So you have a little confidence to perhaps overcome that exposure factor, if you know that you can say, "Well, I think he's crazy."

SELECTING THE ACTUAL GOALS

Executive producer Connell defines the management job as essentially "the care and feeding of creative people." That is simply a recognition of the truth that, for all of the managerial, scholarly, educational and research paraphernalia and trappings, what we are dealing with is a creative enterprise finally dependent on the energies, talents and spirit of the few on whom the whole edifice rests. It is not enough to assign the creative staff a task and let it go at that. What the Workshop management has grasped is the importance of involving it in the building phases from the beginning, and of doing it in such a way that they genuinely feel they have full creative control. This is seen in the care with which the job of setting goal priorities was approached, keeping in mind that the staff had already participated in the preliminary adventure of the seminars.

Following the seminars, assistant research director, Barbara Reeves, drafted a document outlining major goal areas and stating each goal and subgoal in terms of highly specific behavioral objectives. The research and production staffs then met with a few educational advisors to choose the priority goals. For Dr. Lesser:

> The staff's stake in making selections it could live with was obvious and compelling. The principal consideration in designing a priority-setting procedure was that control reside with the staff in order to avoid the consequences of feeling that the critical choices had been made by others and imposed upon them. The process must be rational educationally and give the staff full freedom to arrive at

> their own judgments of what aims were most likely to be workable guides to program production [*Children and Television: Lessons from "Sesame Street"*].

Note that the creative staff feeling that it controlled the course of events was the *principal consideration.* This is fundamentally different from the practice of developing goals via the educator route and then handing the completed list to a production team that has not participated in its development.

Each staff member made his own initial choices from the general list in terms of what seemed most promising for television production. Then sessions were held to pool the results and make final decisions. There was immediate consensus on some, and considerable arguing necessary to win agreement on others. Although it was a time-consuming and somewhat arduous process, Dr. Lesser is convinced it was the way to go, for: ". . . the staff did feel that the outcome was both rational and manageable as a base for television production."

The difference in the seminar and the follow-up discussions was basic: the seminar dialogues were deliberately freed from any prior restraints on production possibilities; for setting priorities, these possibilities were determining.

The research need for something that could be measured also now became important. As in the case of production feasibility, research opportunities had not been allowed to restrict the seminar discussions. The group decided to include both the difficult-to-measure goals, such as self-concept, cooperation, point of view, etc., and skills, such as counting and ability to recognize letters, that are more amenable to measurement. A major decision was made to emphasize the cognitive skills, in any case, during the experimental period, rather than the social or emotional aspects of development.

The working list of goals on which "Sesame Street" was based, as a result of the procedures described:

I. Symbolic Representation
  A. Letters
  B. Numbers
  C. Geometric Forms

II. Cognitive Processes
  A. Perceptual Discrimination
  B. Relational Concepts
  C. Classification
  D. Ordering

III. Reasoning and Problem-Solving
  A. Problem Sensitivity
  B. Inferences and Causality
  C. Generating and Evaluating Explanations and Solutions

IV. The Child and His World
  A. Self
  B. Social Units
  C. Social Interaction
  D. Man-made Environment
  E. Natural Environment

NONSEQUENCED INSTRUCTION

The "Sesame Street" curriculum does not unfold through time in the conventional schoolroom manner, through a logical progression from the elementary to the more complex, building directly on what has gone before. This was ruled out in the seminars by an analysis of viewing behavior.

Since the program was to be sent out into an open-ended noncontrolled environment, there could be no way of knowing the extent of continuing viewing. Obviously, no assumption could be made that any individual viewer would be seeing all of the programs, or even most of them. Nor could there be any way of anticipating when a given viewer would see the program for the first time, or how often viewing would take place. This meant that each program would have to be dealt with as an entity in its own right from a curriculum standpoint, capable of doing an instructional job without direct reference to previous shows. At the same time, it would have to be consistent with what came before and after, so that there would be learning reinforcement over time.

The solution would be to incorporate all the major goal areas into each program, with the specific curriculum assignments spread throughout the series. The curriculum coordinator, viewing the total series needs, would develop the individual curriculum for each program, recommending the amount of time that should be devoted to each item. Final determination of this, together with the organization and balance of actual program elements, would be the responsibility of the program staff, beginning with the writer.

"Sesame Street's" segment-treatment lends itself well to this technique. The program hour is made up of many short segments that have no overt connection with each other. This permits maximum flexibility.

The nonsequential technique is being employed in production of "The Electric Company," but how successfully was not yet evident at time of writing. There is no question, however, of the success of the approach for "Sesame Street," as the findings of the Educational Testing Service indicate.

Just how far this technique can, or should, be applied in other situations is an open question, of course. Two other questions have to be answered first: (1) Is the subject matter such that sequential development is mandatory? (2) What is the likelihood that there will be sufficient motivation in the open-circuit audience to prompt regular viewing on a sustained basis? If the answers are positive, the CTW model is probably not applicable.

Cookie Monster.

CHAPTER FIVE

USING RESEARCH FOR PROGRAM BUILDING

> "Teaching young children by television must be considered a self-correcting *experiment:* therefore, its curriculum must remain open and flexible to allow changes in response to information as it accumulates. The early versions of a curriculum for television inevitably will include certain objectives that turn out to be inappropriate for televised teaching and will exclude some of great potential value. In the absence of good evidence, these early efforts to construct a curriculum will underestimate certain skills of preschoolers and overestimate others, and must be adjusted and refined through successive approximations based on observations of children as the limits of the medium are tested."
>
> Dr. Gerald S. Lesser,
> *Children and Television: Lessons from Sesame Street.*

THE CTW'S EMPIRICAL ORIENTATION

The Children's Television Workshop is the first totally pragmatic educational television organization. It shapes and judges its programming [illegible] the objective criteria of experience. This gives it an operational dynamism which is unique. The Workshop approach represents a self-regenerative process of creative response to the findings of research that results in a never-ending spiral of program improvement.

Unlike conventional practitioners in television public affairs and education, the Workshop staff directs their creative efforts to *specific, measurable educational ends.* Their purpose is embodied in a concrete instrument designed to achieve clearly defined curriculum goals directed to a precisely defined target audience.

Regardless of how superior a creative product may appear when judged by an esthetic standard, it fails empirically if the curriculum goal is not reached—that is, if the child viewer has not taken from it what was put in for him to take—and will be removed from broadcast use.

This is one major reason the "Sesame Street" planners incorporated *measurable* objectives in their goal statement. They recognized that there would have to be something in each program amenable to measurement if there were ever to be a reliable way of determining whether the series was realizing or falling short of its hopes. Without such an ability to measure results, research would be unable to assist production as envisioned. And so cognitive skills, such as reading and counting, were focused on as the measurable elements, as opposed to affective goals, though both, of course, were to be included in the program.

This operational pattern did not just happen; it was planned for. From the beginning, the need for precise definition of goals was clearly understood. The following account of research vice-president Edward Palmer reveals the stress laid on research in the planning period:

> I came on in July, 1968, in the middle of those famous five seminars. I attended about half. I came on as director of research with a four-person department. Among the major decisions that had already been made was that there would be an on-board research department working with the production department. I think an important part of the way we interpreted that mandate, was to say: It is an experiment.
>
> It might work and it might not. We were looking for ways to see if there is something researchers could do to help producers, who ultimately have to turn the last crank.

> So we came to the decision that there would be researchers, there would be producers, there would be formative research, and that there would be a long time period before the show ever went on the air. Those are things that were handed to us. The other thing handed to us that I think was extremely important was a pattern of three-way collaboration which was working when I came on the project—the collaboration between researchers, producers, and outside consultants. Jerry Lesser was pivotal throughout this whole venture. . . he helped give us focus in research. We worked with Jerry to make explicit the objectives that were derived from those seminars, stating in specific operational terms what those curriculum objectives would be. When that had been done, all the fuzziness concerning what we were really going to teach was dissolved. The producers knew exactly what we were going to teach, so they could begin thinking about production implementation. The test developers, Sam Ball and his people at Educational Testing Service, knew exactly what we were going to teach so that they could begin developing tests. We knew what we were up to, so we could begin evaluating the work of the producers, to see if it was on target. That was a crucial event—the definition of the goals in very explicit terms.

With curriculum goals established, the next step was to create an operational model that could be adjusted and improved through the interaction of research and production. Its steps:

1. Curriculum development would lead to behavioral goals, which would lead to experimental production, which would lead to summative measurements and evaluations.
2. All the results of measurements of appeal and effectiveness would be fed into all the components up to the summative stage.

Also handed to Palmer, he recalls with pleasure, was this "almost luxurious" year and a half of prebroadcast time. This meant there was not going to be a crash program put together with no planning. Moreover, it permitted the partnership with production to begin at the beginning, which Palmer is convinced is vital to any such effort. Time was important because of the desire to see what could be done with formative research, of which educational television—and commercial television as well—had seen very little.

As Palmer defines formative research:

> It is research that has as its principal objective to provide information useful to the creators of the educational materials, in this case, the broadcast television materials. Information that would help them understand, for example, the nature of their audience, who they are, what they already know in the goal areas that have been selected, when they watch television, what they understand of it and what goes over their head, what appeals to them and what does not, what they are as psychological creatures, what their characteristics are as learners, what kinds of materials teach them and what kinds do not. Specifically, if I have in hand a 60-second animation piece on the letter *J*, does that piece teach them? Does it entertain them? Does it teach them better in combination with other materials, or alone?

It was by no means obvious even what questions were to be researched, though it was clear to Palmer that methodology would be a continuing area of inquiry. It remains so today. Palmer prefers to find his own results rather than take them from elsewhere. He is more concerned with developing usable methods, convinced that once that is done, he can find his own results.

According to Palmer, the ideal in designing the most useful possible set of research methods is to have at least one method focusing upon each program attribute to which the producers should be paying special attention. These include: attention and interest, as measured on a moment-to-moment basis; the comprehensibility of each segment, in terms of the target child's ability to understand its dramatic and educational points; and the question of whether education and entertainment are competing or working well together at any given moment in the program.

Questions of methodology took on increasing importance as discussion of the proposed format ideas raised research issues. There was, for example, the question of whether it was feasible to use the spot-announcement technique for instruction, based on the element of repetition. Would all types of materials bear up under repetition? Would some bear up better than others, less than others? It is important to find out what does not work, as well as what does work. Would the youngster continue to watch the commercial? Would he pick up jingles? Would he repeat things? Would he learn more from listening several times than from listening once? Is it possible to build a kind of hierarchy sequence of instruction within a one-minute segment, so that the child learns something the first time he sees it, adds something the next time, and so forth?

Palmer and staff then began asking questions about the context in which the commercial was to appear, the lead-in, explaining it when through. If you are dealing with the letter *S* or the number *2*, for example, can you teach more by putting three of them together, three different ones together, one repeated three times, etc?

There were more general questions, such as what programs preschoolers liked best, whether they liked animation better than live action, how they responded to animals, what the best time was for the program to be on the air, how long a child of that age would watch at one sitting, whether he liked to see other children on TV. The likes and dislikes of the urban disadvantaged child were of particular concern.

TESTING APPEAL—THE DISTRACTOR

There were two major program research areas: appeal and teaching effectiveness. Before "Sesame Street" could do its educational job, it had to attract and *hold* an audience. The challenge was to devise a method of measurement that would enable the producers to evaluate each program segment for its ability to hold the interest of the children from second-to-second throughout its length. Palmer introduced the *distractor* method that he had developed in Oregon during a government-sponsored study of television methods to attract and hold the attention of children between the ages of 2 and 5.

The child normally watches television in a room where there are objects and/or people competing with the TV set for his attention. To simulate this condition, the CTW research group decided to program distractions into the laboratory situation. They used a carousel slide projector and a rear-screen projection box. A random selection of slides went into the slide tray. These were projected automatically, at regular intervals—seven and one-half seconds—onto a screen similar to the TV screen. The child was seated several feet away from the TV set directly facing it. The projection screen was set at an angle near the TV receiver.

The observer was equipped with a push-button noting device. He used this to record when the child's eyes left the television screen and when they returned to it. From these data, it was possible to determine during what portion of each segment the child's eyes were on the TV set. Results were plotted on graphs. The

Excerpt from:
"The First Year of Sesame Street: The Formative Research Vol. II" by
Barbara Frengel Reeves

MEMORANDUM

TO: Production February 27, 1969
FROM: Barbara Frengel
RE: Letters

A general test dealing with letters was given to 68 four-year olds from our day-care centers. The results are summarized below.

1. Reciting the Alphabet

The results are presented graphically on the next page. The major findings indicate that very few children in our target population can accomplish this task.

- only 36 of the 68 children could even begin to recite the alphabet.

- only 21 children could go beyond ABC

Looking at the graph it seems that certain letters are learned in sets. These sets include:

A B C
J K L M
R S T U
W X Y Z

There also appear to be several stumbling blocks where the children get confused. These are:

C D, D E, E F, I J, and N O P

2. Labelling letters of the alphabet.

a. The entire alphabet was presented and the children were asked to pick out and name the letters they knew. The results are presented below:

Letter	%Labelling Correctly
A	23.5%
B	20.6%
C	11.8%
D	10.3%
E	16.3%
F-Z	Less than 10%

b. Letters of the child's name

(1) Labelling letters of their name
The child was asked to label the first letter of his first name (Capital letter).

Eleven of the children or 16.3% could label this letter correctly.

(2) Recognizing letters of their name
If the child could not label the first letter of his name a card with the alphabet was presented and he was asked to find the first letter of his first name (Debby would be asked to find"D").

Twenty children, or 29.3% could recognize the first letter of their first name.

(3) Writing their names

Forty children wrote letters or reasonable facsimiles.

Twelve children wrote their first names. Seven did this perfectly and five with minor errors.

Twenty-nine children were able to write at least the first letter of their name.

The major finding here is that children seem to learn the letters of their own names first. Using letters in names should be a good idea, like "M is for Martha". In the J-Commercial, several children who were not able to label the J did call it a "Joe" or a "Julio".

First letters are learned first. Using words that start with the letter we are teaching is supported here.

3. Matching Letters

A card with the letters of the alphabet was presented. The child was given eight individual letters and asked to "put them where they go." The results are presented below:

Letter	%Matching Correctly
A	92.6
B	89.7
D	89.7
J	86.8
K	83.8
S	82.4
M	77.9
T	75.0

Except for the "T", this is the exact same ordering of difficulty achieved on the labelling task.

SUMMARY

1. Children are not nearly as familiar with letters as with numbers.
2. Very few children can recite the alphabet.
3. First letters in names are among the first letters children learn.
4. Children are much more familiar with the first part than the latter part of the alphabet.
5. There are some natural groupings that occur in learning to recite the alphabet (ABC, JKLM, RSTU). It might be good to present these together sometimes.
6. Some transition points are difficult. These should probably be stressed.

producers could now see what the high and low attention points were for each experimental production piece. In addition to the original pieces of production, more than 30 pieces of existing program material were tested.

Palmer notes these values in the method: (1) It provides a data point every seven and one-half seconds throughout a program; (2) it provides an average attention level over an entire program; (3) it provides an attention level segment-by-segment; (4) attention levels can be "summed" or averaged in groups of similar lengths and compared for segments of different lengths; (5) it provides thoroughly objective data, unaffected by the researcher's own possible bias.

Some findings: Animation segments tend to have higher attention value than live action, but not absolutely. Segments with talking adults tend to score low. Pixilation—a form of animation which consists of discrete, jerky movements—tends to be effective. Commercials—the short product message—usually bring the attention level up near the maximum. Children are generally attentive to animals on television and particularly enjoy watching other children. Rapid pacing is generally more appealing than slower pacing.

FOCUSING THE EYE OF THE PRODUCER

For Palmer, the distractor has an important ancillary value—*it focuses the eye of the producer:*

> If you use a research method that compares intact programs, then the producer is focused on intact formats and intact programs. If you use a method which focuses on moment-to-moment throughout a broadcast segment, then the producer's attention and his thinking are focused on moment-to-moment aspects of appeal. I really think that the highly segmented format of "Sesame Street" derives to some extent from the fact that we really focus the producer's eyes through the application of this method on such questions as whether a piece is going to be 15 or 22 seconds long.

FINDING OUT WHY THEY WATCH

To get behind the distractor's data and learn something of what was accounting for the differences in the ability of various segments to hold attention while others lost it, the researchers observed small viewing groups—from three to five children in each group—mainly 4 years of age. They came from New York City viewing centers. Existing popular programs were shown them as well as original segments. A body of information about the viewing patterns of 4-year-olds began to build:

Ed Palmer, CTW Vice-President for Research, tests children's interest in "Sesame Street" segment by using the distractor technique.

Excerpt from:
"Distractor Study - Shows 1 and 4"

Introduction

The distractor procedure was used with test shows 1 and 4. Its purpose is to measure for each 7.5-second interval throughout a given program the percentage of time when the children actually have their eyes on the TV screen. The "distractor" is a series of still slides presented at the rate of one every 7.5 seconds on a rear-projection screen the same size and height as the television screen. It is situated to the side and facing the TV set at about a 45 degree angle from the child.

Sample and Procedure

The subjects were ten four-year olds from New York Day Care centers. The shows were presented to each child, individually, over closed-circuit TV, in black and white. The same ten children saw both shows. Half were boys, half girls. Half saw show 1 first, half saw show 4 first. Prior to the actual testing, each child was introduced to the situation three times on successive days in order to put him at ease.

Continuous observations were made for each child, using a chart recorder. If the child was looking at the screen, the stylus on the recorder was in one position but in any period of time when he was looking away a button was pressed, so the stylus moved to a different position. A similar button-pressing arrangement was used to provide a coordinated record of the times when the still slides changed on the distractor. Cumulative graphs for the two programs indicate the percent of viewing time for all 10 Ss during each 7.5 second interval throughout each program. These cumulative graphs appear at the end of this section of the report. Summaries derived from them also appear in the tables of the following section.

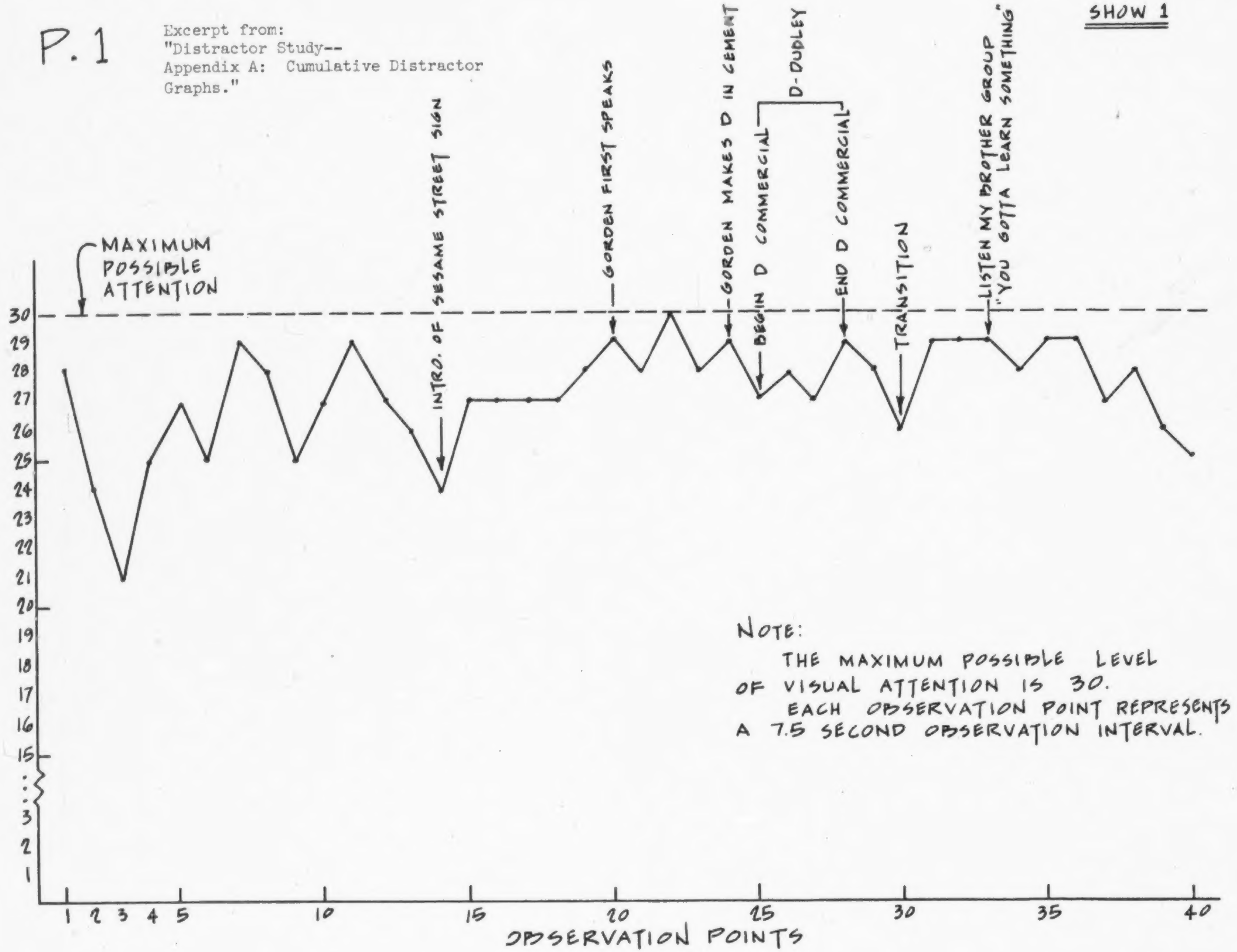
Results

The program materials previously tested by the distractor method provide a base line against which to evaluate the attention of the children to test shows 1 and 4. Table A-1 lists the two test shows along with programs previously tested, indicates the length of each program and also shows the average visual attention level for each (the maximum attention level possible is 100%). As the table shows, the two test shows are among the top six of the thirty programs tested, even though they are far longer than most. Some of the shortest segments listed in the table were presented in combination, but never in combinations running more than a total of about fifteen minutes. Presumably, the longer the total presentation, the more difficult to sustain a high level of attention. Immediately below is an analysis of successive segments from shows 1 and 4. The results will help in determining the effect of program length on attention.

P.1

Excerpt from:
"Distractor Study--
Appendix A: Cumulative Distractor
Graphs."

SHOW 1



NOTE:
THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE LEVEL OF VISUAL ATTENTION IS 30.
EACH OBSERVATION POINT REPRESENTS A 7.5 SECOND OBSERVATION INTERVAL.

They were very much aware of the sound track and could be brought back to the screen by a loud noise, music, and the like. Music too, turns out to be extremely important, and they respond differently to different musical styles; the bouncier the melody, the more intense the physical reaction. Vocal qualities have an effect; if the voice sounds odd, the child concentrates on the voice and misses the content. Children particularly like to hear the voices of other children. Some words hold a certain "magic" for a child, especially those he can roll around on his tongue, such as "bubble," "vigilante," "Monday," "neighborhood." Children are confused when a familiar TV character is presented in an unfamiliar context. Most children believe, for example, that the people they see on the program are real and that they really live on "Sesame Street." They have little conception of "actors." Many believe the cast knows them as well as they know the cast!

Children imitate many of the actions they see on TV. They imitate laughter and comical actions. They like to participate in TV games and like word play, but do not respond well to plays on words. Children enjoy watching something they understand—the less "noise" masking the message the better. Extraneous material, visual or auditory, confuses the child and causes him to lose interest.

Slapstick is well liked, and pantomime is an effective comedy form for preschoolers.

The young viewer's attention is held longer if the material is varied, and certain films increase in appeal and effectiveness with repetition.

TESTING FOR EFFECTIVENESS

Given an ability to attract and hold an audience, how does one get the educational message across with the maximum effectiveness? To help the producer, the researchers began to look into the question of what the viewer was getting out of the program segment. To this was added the question of how the piece selected for use could best be presented in context to produce the greatest educational impact.

The research relied largely on a simple "pretest-treatment-posttest" design. Tests were developed often composed of less than 10 items. Where possible, verbal response requirements were avoided. Multiple choice formats with symbolic or pictorial choices seemed to work well with children in this age group.

THE FIVE TEST SHOWS

All of the techniques were finally put to work on five hour-long pilot programs.

CTW researcher Hylda Clarke surveys research results of "The Electric Company" studies in CTW offices.

Excerpts from:
"The Responses of Children in Six Small Viewing Groups to Sesame Street Shows 261-274," by Barbara Frengel Reeves

This report is a summary of 14 days of observation of six small viewing groups. The observational data collected over Shows 261-274 is important, not only for the vast amount of descriptive information they contain, but also for the number of shows covered and the number of groups that were observed.

Comparing Whole Programs

Reviewing the observations taken over these programs, it is extremely clear that several were excellent, some good, some fair and one was really pretty terrible. Some of the factors that seem to be important in determining how a show is received are: (1) The degree to which the program gives a feeling of variety, (2) What happens on the street, (3) The introduction of elements throughout the show that can bring attention back to the screen, and (4) The length of the individual elements that make up the program. Each of these factors is discussed in greater detail below.

The Degree to which the Program Gives a Feeling of Variety

Too much of the same kind of programming seems to give the show a feeling of "sameness." When this happens, the children tend to lose interest or become restless. The following examples will help to clarify what is meant by "a feeling of sameness" and where it occurs in these 14 programs.

Overworking a street theme. In several of the programs a good deal of the action on the street was tied to a common theme. When this happened, the different episodes did not seem exciting enough in themselves to maintain attention. The following examples relate to this:

> Show 262: Pet Show. The children were very interested in this theme at the beginning. They were attentive, responsive, and loved Slimy, the worm. But, by the time first prize was awarded, the children were restless and inattentive.
>
> Show 265. Ice Cream Machine. Much of the street action revolved around the installation of an Ice Cream Machine on Sesame Street. By the time the ice cream man quit, hardly any children were still watching these segments.

Inclusion of too many similar elements. Aside from the street theme, a show tends to have a feeling of sameness about it if too many of the programming elements are similar. Good examples of this are the following:

Show 267. Animal Films. In this program, five animal films were programmed into the last half of the show: Mandrill Mother and Baby (1:02), Tree Kangaroo and Baby (0:52), Baby Reindeer (1:44), Animal Coverings (1:24) and Koala (1:03). In such a case, it is difficult to judge how attentive the children might have been to the individual films had they not all occurred in the same program.

Show 274. Theodore Bikel. Nearly half of this program revolved around Bikel. This included his singing of six complete songs and snatches of several others. By the end of the program, only three of the six viewing groups were still intact, and few of the children in these groups were watching anything.

Because of the importance of finding effective ways of using the cast members on Sesame Street, it may be helpful to examine the reactions to these scenes more closely. The observations suggest that some of the following recommendations may be helpful in up-grading the action on the street.

1. Big Bird is definitely the favorite character on the street. When he appears on the scene, the children usually look up to see what's happening. They particularly enjoy seeing his big feet or watching him dance.

2. Although he did not appear very often, the children were equally attentive to Little Bird. They participated fully during his "Imagination Game." Perhaps he could play a greater role on the street.

3. The children are usually attentive to songs then sung by the cast members. They particularly seem to enjoy songs that encourage them to participate, such as the Sorting Song.

4. Children are very responsive to sounds. The segments on Show 273 utilized many sound effects in "Sesame Street is Asleep" and "Sesame Street Wakes Up." These were among the best street scenes in the 14 programs. Another example of effective use of sound was in the Queen's Questions (Show 264).

This is one of the most significant steps in the entire history of "Sesame Street." It represents a bold and hardheaded determination to follow through the research-production process to its logical end, regardless of the cost and time involved. To appreciate the historic nature of what occurred, it is necessary to understand that the CTW was quite prepared to scrap all five hours of programming completely if they failed to live up to expectations as measured by the tests, an unheard of practice in television when an out-of-pocket investment of $230,000–the actual expenditure–is involved! Note that this part of the developmental process is characterized as research rather than programming in the budget allocations of the CTW. It attests to the central role played by the organization's empirical orientation, its determination to present an educational product verified by a thorough field research. For both producers and researchers the experience was fundamental.

Executive producer David Connell explains why it was basic from the standpoint of programming:

> Time enters into all these decisions, of course, because human beings being what they are–television people especially–you really procrastinate until the last possible minute. We were really approaching the last possible minute in the winter of 1968-69. The best single decision we ever made was to do five full-hour test shows. In the winter of 1968 we decided to do the test shows the following spring. It forced us to make all of the decisions that we would have to make ultimately four months early. Otherwise we would have spent the summer procrastinating. It forced us to cast the show, to write it, to produce it–absolutely everything. And without qualm, I say to you: The show was considerably better when it went on the air because of that.

The "dry run" would afford the opportunity to try in actual experience the things that formative research had indicated as promising. The script writers would have their first stab at piecing the individual segments together into a cohesive program. The tentative cast would be performing for the first time as a group. And the producers would have a chance to make last-minute changes based on testing before going on the air with the actual premiere.

For the researchers the decision meant an opportunity to test the summative procedures developed by the Educational Testing Service–the ease of administration, average testing time, performance levels, response ambiguities and reliabilities. Last-minute changes could be made in the test procedures on the basis of these data prior to pretesting of the summative sample, just before the time the series was to go on the air.

Palmer cites the following major benefits for the formative research team: (1) It would have an opportunity–the first–to evaluate a completed program, instead of segments; (2) for the first time it would be possible to work with children viewing in their own homes under normal conditions; (3) it would provide the first substantial check on earlier recommendations that had been made to the producers.

Four independent studies were conducted during the last week in July and the first week of August, 1969. Two of them were conducted under actual broadcast conditions in Philadelphia over UHF station WUHY-TV, and two in New York City day-care centers.

The data accumulated in the four studies were organized in relation to the program goals. Within each major goal area, all information pertinent to a specific goal was integrated to provide the most comprehensive evaluation possible. Distractor and small-group observations were reviewed for insight into the finding. On the basis of the test scores and observation data, the research department made recommendations for improving the test programs.

The test revealed that 4-year-olds who viewed the programs made positive gains in terms of CTW curriculum goals, depending on the amount of emphasis given the goals in programming, the manner in which the material was presented, the extent to which the children exhibited overt responses to the program segment.

Background characteristics were a factor in the pretests, with children from middle-class neighborhoods performing at a higher level than those in day-care centers, who in turn out-performed disadvantaged children with no prior classroom experience.

Four-year-olds' visual attention was as high for the test shows as for any previously tested; their attention could be sustained for an hour.

Repeated exposures, varied treatment, visual simplicity were generally the most effective from the standpoint of instructional effectiveness.

Finally, the ETS tests were found to be generally acceptable technically and were revised as a result of the study.

CONTINUING RESEARCH

As Connell notes, the premiere of the program on November 10, 1969, marked a stepping-stone rather than an end-point to the research-production cooperation. Throughout the period of the telecasts, formative research studies continued to guide the development of new production techniques, format elements and teaching strategies. And the research goes on, reflected in the ceaseless efforts of the producers to improve the program.

EXAMPLES OF CHANGES MADE BECAUSE OF RESEARCH

The production staff had created a series of live-action films featuring "The Man from Alphabet." When tested in the five pilot programs, they failed to interest the children. They were never used.

Evaluation of the first year of "Sesame Street" indicated that children could learn things more quickly than the staff had thought was possible, so the curriculum was upgraded somewhat the second year. Preliminary reports for the second season show that this upgrading was somewhat premature. In the second year, the curriculum introduced multiple classification in addition to sorting and classification. Multiple classification turned out to be too difficult for the young viewers. The curriculum for the third year is a compromise. Word families were also introduced the second year. The children could not grasp the idea of how words were formed, but they proved able to learn from the rhyming that appeared. This year the curriculum area is entitled "Rhyming."

During the first season's six-weeks' test of progress, the researchers found that the children could label letters and numbers but that they had trouble deciding on the function of each. This held true for the body parts as well. The children knew their names, but not their functions. The staff therefore stressed functions of letters, numbers, and body parts from that point on.

RELATIONS BETWEEN RESEARCH AND PRODUCTION

The most enthusiastic apostles of research at the CTW are to be found in the program production ranks, testifying to a successful consummation of the sought-for departmental marriage. It is not every day that one is met with as outright an endorsement of research as that voiced by "Sesame Street" producer Jon Stone:

> The unique aspects of this operation are the research aspects. It is no accident that the show is a blockbuster. It was researched within an inch of its life. We knew for a fact, when we went on the air, that the pieces we had in the show would

Excerpt from:
"Implications and Recommendations for Production on the Basis of the Six Weeks Testing Results"

BODY PARTS

The data from the six-week testing indicate that the children in day-care centers are well able to identify and label the parts of the body. With the exception of forehead and wrist over 70% of the children in both experimental and control conditions responded correctly on all recognition and labelling items.

The same holds true for identifying the parts of the body associated with basic functions like looking, smelling, etc.

Implications

The high level of performance on this measure implies that the majority of children from three to five years of age are already familiar with the level of knowledge about their bodies that is tapped by this test. This is probably not true for the child from a disadvantaged area who has no preschool experience, however.

Recommendations

The gains made on items in the Body Parts Test which were not already at ceiling level on the Pretest are impressive. This indicates that for a child who is not already familiar with the body parts being tested, the methods used in the program were successful in raising his level of performance.

It is recommended, then, that the show continue to deal with the body parts goals as it has done in the past. Since the children are familiar with body parts, these could be used to teach other goals. For example, the child can be shown that his nose is between his ears, emphasizing the relational concept. Finger plays can also be used which stress relations and number concepts.

The similarities and differences between parts of the child's body can be compared to animals' bodies when they appear on the show. For example, the child has hair on his head while the animal may have fur all over its body; They both may have two eyes; The animal may walk on all fours while the child walks upright on two legs, etc.

The child could be taught more about his body. For example he can be shown how the skin, fingernails and eyelashes act to protect him. This can also be compared with animals who have fur to keep them warm, feathers that repel water, etc.

LETTERS

The data from the Six Weeks Testing indicates that although much headway is being made in the child's knowledge of letters, there is still a great deal of room for growth. Because of the emphasis that is placed on the goals dealing with letters the subtests are discussed individually below.

Matching

On this subtest the child was shown a card on which a shape, letter, number or form was printed. He was then required to find the identical stimulus from a set of four. Performance on this task was exceptionally high, over 90% correct at Six Week Testing, on all items with the exception of the word "WHO."

Implications

These data imply that the children have a good understanding of this task and possess the skills necessary to perform successfully when a single stimulus is involved. Errors occur when the child is asked to match a stimulus that is made up of several elements, such as WHO which is comprised of the three elements W, H, and O.

Recommendations

Since both experimental and control children were both able to match successfully when the match involved a unitary stimulus, it is suggested that less emphasis be placed on this skill. Rather the skills necessary to perform correctly on more complex matching problems should be stressed.

The problem seems to lie in the strategy that the child uses to complete the task. He should be taught that a systematic approach is possible to solving such a problem. The child is most probably concentrating his attention on only one element of the stimulus. In WHO, for example, he may only attend to the W. This could result in the child's matching WHO with WAR. In both words W is the first letter.

To correct this the child can be taught to make a systematic check of each letter. This skill can also be emphasized in the Sorting Game. The word that doesn't belong could have a different last letter such as:

WHO	WHO
WHY	WHO

Another method that could be used to teach children the strategy for matching would be to superimpose or matte the letters of the word to be matched over each of the possible choices. If this is done, the matte should proceed from left to right and each letter should be confirmed. This would result in a match-mismatch test. The important thing is for the child to realize that all of the letters must match that of the standard before he can conclude that they are the same.

> test out very high. We really didn't know it was going to become the hit that it is. But a year and a half of very careful research had gone into this. I would recommend it as an absolute must to anybody who is putting together a television experiment.

The good relationship had its beginnings in the willingness of David Connell to adopt the pragmatic attitude toward production that Joan Cooney and Lloyd Morrisett were trying to build into the fiber of the organization and the recognition by Ed Palmer that a good relationship must be worked at, particularly by the members of his research department.

As Palmer sees the research staff function, it is not enough to do research. The staff must conduct its own internal public relations campaign.

> You not only have to do research, but you also have to make it appealing. You have to communicate it in ways that are understood and liked. You have to play politician while doing research and be diplomatic about it. *Research is not there to tell the producers what to do.* It is *they* who are responsible for turning the last crank. You can't look over their shoulders too closely, or you make yourself obnoxious.
>
> . . .If the research didn't deserve the audience of the producer, probably it wasn't speaking to his problems. . .

The Workshop's approach differs in a fundamental way from standard practice in that it involves the producers in the research process from the outset. For Palmer this is of enormous significance. It affects profoundly both the actual research process and the use of its findings:

> I always felt that the producer should participate in the research from before the time it's done. I can bring in research results as end-point conclusions from research projects, and I can lay them on the producers' desks. They will be courteous about it. They will read it. They're nice guys. But I involve the producers in the initial design of the study, let them review my plan just before it goes out into the field and make suggestions for revisions and extensions. Then they are sitting there waiting eagerly for the results to come in, and sometimes they have their shirtsleeves rolled up helping you plot the data. Moreover, we take them out to the field so that they see the methods and procedures in use. This way they develop a hands-on sense of what the study is all about and actually see how the children are responding, instead of having to see only field researchers' written reports.

Palmer is convinced that the most useful thing a producer can do is go out into the field and watch the children themselves. Most of the time, he observes, television production people respond to a program segment in terms of how they *imagine* the 4-year-old will respond. Take the same program piece out into the field and let the production staff watch what happens when the little ones are exposed to it, he says, and suddenly new thoughts begin to stir. It strikes the observer that his audience is "only that high," that they may not be catching the clever joke at all, and so forth. It is an "eye-opening experience," according to Palmer. He quotes Connell's comment on the plane when returning from a field test that it would be helpful to take the new writers and production people out into the field: "Let them watch kids and let them get religion. That's just the way he put it."

It is easily forgotten when one traverses the labyrinthine corridors of the new CTW offices at One Lincoln Plaza, opposite New York's Lincoln Center, that it all began most informally as a loose collection of young, enthusiastic adventurers not wedded to rigid concepts of what could and could not work. This was as true in research as in production.

Researcher Trish Hayes recalls that at the beginning of it all, the 1968 seminars, the research people relied on the skills of the consultants in the main, doing little background study of their own. When the goals were established, the department began to field test, using both conventional and new techniques. The testing was conducted in Harlem day-care and family-care centers on groups of 10 to 15 children. At that stage, because of the novelty and probing nature of the research, intuition seems to have been as important a guide to the researchers as traditional measurements. If, for example, something worked well for all the children in a test group, the researchers tended to accept it as valid. Only that which worked for some but not others created doubt. Individual judgment played an important part in these situations. This called for researchers who were secure in themselves, not afraid to act in their own judgments.

The partnership between research and production began with the curriculum goal areas which the research department devised. It appears to have been a tenuous relationship at first, but the researchers found ways to develop it. Because of the small size of the early organization, it was relatively easy to follow up overheard conversations or casual comments. Thus when a member of the program department asked an offhand question of a researcher, the latter would find an answer and present it to the production staff several days later.

This informal practice eventually gave way to a more open system of asking questions when the production people began to see that the research staff could provide answers. In short, the researcher initiatives were successful.

Most of the studies are in-house projects. The summative evaluations are done by Educational Testing Service, and other independent firms. Two studies this year combining both approaches touch on music and cooperation.

During the first year, the research department conducted some of its own summative work, since it knew that the ETS evaluation would not be ready in time for the results to be taken into account for the second year. The department conducted studies in Maine, Tennessee and Long Island, New York. It tested children at the end of three and six weeks and three and six months. At the end of three weeks, the researchers found that the children were merely becoming acquainted with the program format–they had not yet learned much. That began to occur after six weeks. Consequently, the department made recommendations to the production staff on those areas that needed less emphasis in future programs and those which needed more.

Significantly, according to Miss Hayes, the research staff never told the producers that something wasn't working without offering alternatives. For example, some segments were found to be ineffective, but merely dubbing in children's voices made them very effective. The recommendations were delivered in memos, which described what the department had done and what it had learned and offered suggestions on what the producers might try to make improvements. Most of the formative research continues to be described in similar memos today. There are reports which are designed for wider distribution, however, such as the results of testing the five pilot shows, the six-week report, and the ETS evaluation study. Recent department efforts have been directed to the questions of how much repetition children can benefit from before boredom sets in. The findings are expected to be useful in third-season production.

The department has grown, and with that growth have come the normal problems associated with building staff and undertaking new projects. It has taken time, apparently, for relations between research and programming to straighten out. Here is an example to demonstrate that it is not easy to build a working partnership –even in the very organization that has created the model!

Excerpt from:
'Observations of Children Watching Shows 126-130"

MEMORANDUM

TO: Production

From: Research

Re: Observations of Children Watching Shows 126-130

Date: May 28, 1970

The following report is an analysis of observations on children at the Open Door Day Care Center who viewed shows 126-130 during the week of May 4th.

The composition of the group was as follows:

4 girls (3 of Spanish descent, 1 of Chinese descent)
4 boys (2 black, 2 of Spanish descent)

This report evaluates the effectiveness of various approaches used in the five programs. The detailed observations are included at the end of the report.

Effective Conceptual Framework

Although the specific content of each film segment is unquestionably important, certain conceptual approaches seem to be more effective educational tools than others. These are viewed below.

1. The Hide'n Seek Approach

The children in general, responded very naturally and readily to the idea that something was lost and must be found; the suspense of not knowing when or where it would be found; and the anticipation of something pleasant or funny happening as the object is found. In conjunction with this, they enjoyed the suspense of waiting for the next letter or number and derived a great deal of satisfaction when they found (or knew) the letter or number. This idea was evidenced in the following examples:

Show #	Item	Segment	Response
126	3	Greeting U	"Total attention while looking for the letter U".
	5	Poverty U	As the character reappears from under the cloth, most all laughed at the character.
	29	James Earl Jones	"They liked the suspense of waiting for the next letter or saying it before him."

Show #	Item	Segment	Response
128	15	Dot Bridge 3	"The group is quiet as the dot finds the place".
	26	Dot Bridge 6	"Attentive". "OH, oh!" (as the film stops)
129	7	Story of R	"All generally watching" - They liked the boat bit.
130	31	Full/Empty	"All are attentive and interested".

2. The Body as a Laboratory

The children very easily related to using their bodies (or body parts) to learn the stated materials. Evidence is available in the following reactions:

Show #	Item	Segment	Response
126	8	Quick Cuts	All the children tried to make the 'U' with their fingers.
	28	V-Virgil Veep	They tried to make the 'V' with their fingers and tried to show each other.
130	7	Ernie Dries Off	"All children pretended to wash ears, hands, etc. and they danced in the process. They really enjoyed the bit."

3. Familiar Animals

Familiar animals such as dogs, cats, and horses hold a great deal of fascination for the children. Less familiar animals like oscelots and alligators hold less interest for the child. Perhaps the child can imagine the more familiar animal in his own home. Thus films like "My Kitten" may provide a vicarious experience for children. Whatever the reason, there is a striking difference in reactions to familiar and non-familiar animals as evidenced below:

Show #	Item	Segment	Response
126	13	"My Kitten"	total group interest
	32	Dalmatians	seemed very interested in the puppies.
127	7	Rhythm	Dog interested them...Lost interest until horse was shown.

……

Show #	Item	Segment	Response
126	12	Animal-Alligator	"Lost interest at the introduction of the skit".
128	34	Flying Squirrels	"Not attentive as Gordon talks to children".
130	27	Gordon and Ocelot	"No one watched".

The challenge, of course, is never to lose the idealism and enthusiasm with which the adventure began. If there are common staff ingredients, according to the research department itself, they were probably these: All members had some experience in working with children. They were young, idealistic, with no set expectations as to what children should know or like. They did not try to fit children into a single theory. Everyone, it seems, had a cause, the secretaries included. Moreover, most expected to be on hand only a year or two. As one researcher puts it, they were "revolutionaries doing an experiment." If the spirit is not quite what it was, owing to the inevitable erosion that sets in with size and maturity, it is still there, and as basic as ever. The success of the Workshop in building another set of harmonious and productive relationships—after a few rocky periods—with the production staff of "The Electric Company" augurs well for the future.

THE SUMMATIVE RESEARCH

With all the experimenting and formative research to show the way, there is still no substitute for the actual broadcast into the national marketplace itself. Only objective measurement of viewing levels and effectiveness can testify to whether the project is succeeding in its stated objectives. Several studies were commissioned to investigate both questions during the first broadcast season.

Daniel Yankelovich, Inc., was commissioned by the CTW to conduct studies in four ghetto communities: Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, New York; East Harlem, Manhattan, New York; Washington, D.C.; Chicago, Illinois. The April, 1970, report of results showed a high degree of penetration in three out of four of the test areas:

- In Bedford-Stuyvesant, penetration was 90 percent; 60 percent of the target audience could be counted as regular viewers of the program; 69 percent of the viewers were watching it on the commercial channel, WPIX, 38 percent on the public channel, WNDT [now WNET]; 75percent of the 6-12 year old group watched the program.
- In East Harlem, 91 percent of the viewers (in bilingual, Spanish-speaking households) could be counted as watching three times a week or more; 73 percent watched on the commercial, 54 percent on the public channel, 1 percent watched on UHF Channel 31 (a municipal station).
- In Washington, D.C., "Sesame Street" penetration was 32 percent—20 percent of the households covered had no UHF capability; 63 percent of the households watch the public UHF Channel 26; 66 percent of the "Sesame Street" viewers watched at least four times a week; 10 percent of the mothers said they regarded the program as preschool training and as an aid to children starting kindergarten or school.
- In Chicago, where the program was broadcast only on noncommercial television (Channel 11, WTTW, at 9:30 A.M. and 3:30 P.M.), and not heavily supported by an extensive utilization program, 88 percent of those interviewed watched the program; 50 percent of the viewers watched daily; most viewers who watched once a day did so in the morning; most older children—6 to 12—watched the program.

A study of "Sesame Street" viewing in a North Philadelphia ghetto community, by Susan C. Greene, for a master's thesis at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, showed 63 percent of the interviewed households watching. Similar studies by outside, noncommissioned groups in Charlottesville, Milwaukee and New York helped the CTW to conclude that, in general, the program was reaching a substantial portion of its target audience.

The A. C. Nielsen Company, whose data are the basis of commercial television programming decisions, reported that 90 percent of the homes reached were the

Excerpts from:
"A Report of Three Studies on the Role and Penetration of Sesame Street in Ghetto Communities. (Bedford Stuyvesant, East Harlem, Chicago and Washington, D. C.)" by Daniel Yankelovich, Inc.

The Research Design

This study covers the same four major ghetto areas covered in the 1970 study -- Bedford Stuyvesant and East Harlem, New York City; inner city, Washington; and the black slums of Chicago.

As in the previous 1970 studies, the same sampling instructions, field interviewing procedures and validation techniques were used to guarantee completely reliable and projectible results.

Thus, through the use of parallel questions and sampling techniques, we are able to draw valid comparisons with our previous studies. As well as containing a myriad of questions about the child's viewing habits, the questionnaire contains inquiries designed to glean verbatim opinions of Sesame Street from both child and mother.

Qualifications of Respondents

To qualify for the interview, a respondent had to either have children between the ages of 2 and 5 who were neither in day care nor nursery schools during the day, or to care for other children of the same age on a regular (five day a week) basis. All interviewing was done during the day to insure that the mother or babysitters were at home during these hours and could speak from first-hand knowledge.

The second qualification was that there had to be at least one television set in working order in the household.

The Sample Procedure

The samples were designed to insure maximum representation of each area, and to minimize any bias due to either the clustering of the interviews or possible interest generated by the appearance of the interviewers in the area. For example, a total of 40 sampling points were used in Bedford Stuyvesant, 10 in East Harlem, 35 in Chicago, and 35 in Washington, D.C. In each sampling point, each interviewer was given a starting point, and a route to follow. When it was necessary for an interviewer to return to the sample point for a second day to complete her assignment, she was given a second starting point and routing. Listing sheets were kept to account for those not at home, those ineligible to be interviewed, and refusals.

The final sample included 1222 interviews from four typical ghetto communities -- three Black and one of predominately Spanish background.

Field Interviewing

All interviewing was conducted by Black or Spanish speaking interviewers living within or adjacent to the area in which they were interviewing. No one was assigned more than two sampling points. Despite nearly all of the interviewers having had previous interviewing experience, each was specifically trained for this particular project.

Validation

Close to 100 percent validation was made of all completed interviews. Respondents were asked whether or not they'd been interviewed, and the subject of the interview. Also, questions were asked about Sesame Street viewing and demographic characteristics of the household. Each completed interview was also read and carefully checked by the project directors as an additional validity check.

SUMMARY TABLE 1

Penetration

	Bedford Stuyvesant				East Harlem				Washington, D. C.				Chicago			
	1971		1970		1971		1970		1971		1970		1971		1970	
	Unaided	Aided	Unaided	Aided	Unaided	Aided	Unaided	Aided	Unaided	Aided	Unaided	Aided	Unaided	Aided	Unaided	Aided
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	76	$\boxed{77}$	90	$\boxed{91}$	96	86	77	78	67	$\boxed{59}$	32	$\boxed{32}$	97	95	87	88
No	16	16	8	8	3	4	21	18	18	18	63	59	2	2	7	8
Not Sure	8	7	2	1	1	10	2	4	15	23	5	9	1	3	6	4

target audience in terms of age of child for the two weeks ending December 7, 1969; about 50 percent of all children in New York metropolitan area day-care centers were watching. By March, 1970, the program was reaching a total audience nationally of almost three million homes for any one program—averaging 2.28 million households during the average minute. [See "The First Year of 'Sesame Street': A Summary of Audience Surveys," Children's Television Workshop.] Dr. Palmer estimated that during its first season, "Sesame Street" was reaching an overall target audience of seven million children out of the total potential of twelve million. But how effectively? Were the children learning?

The Educational Testing Service report of October, 1970, concludes:

> In its first season of 26 weeks, "Sesame Street" showed that television can be an effective medium for teaching 3- to 5-year-old children important simple facts and skills, such as recognizing and labeling letters and numerals, and more complex higher cognitive skills, such as classifying and sorting by a variety of criteria. The ETS research results reveal that "Sesame Street" benefits children from disadvantaged inner-city communities, middle-class suburbs, and isolated areas—all the groups studied in this evaluation. . . .
>
> First, children who watched the most learned the most. . . .
>
> Second, the skills that received the most time and attention on the program itself were, with rare exceptions, the skills that were best learned. . . .
>
> Third, the program did not require formal adult supervision in order for children to learn in the areas the program covers. Children viewing "Sesame Street" at home showed gains as great as, and in some cases greater than, children who watched in school under the supervision of a teacher. . . .
>
> The major finding—that children learned more the more they watch—holds true across ages, sex, geographical location, socioeconomic status, mental age, and whether children watched at home or at school. . . .
>
> The 3-year-old children gained the most; the 5-year-olds gained the least. . . .
>
> Although the disadvantaged children started out with considerably lower achievement scores on the skills being taught, those who watched a great deal surpassed the middle-class children who watched only a little. . . .
>
> An extremely provocative, although *highly tentative,* finding suggests that "Sesame Street" may be particularly effective for teaching some skills to children whose first language is not English. . . . A very small sample of children from Spanish-speaking homes in the Southwest made more spectacular gains than any other subgroup. . . .

In October of the following year, 1971, the preliminary findings of the continuing assessment of effectiveness by ETS became available. This time, the studies had been directed to the second season programs. They showed:

- The program continued to be effective in imparting basic skills to the children aged 3 to 5.
- Those who watched most learned most, as in the preceding year.
- The analysis of first-year study data indicated that the program was as

Excerpt from:
"The First Year of Sesame Street: An Evaluation." Vol. III by
Samuel Ball and Gerry Ann Bogatz

DESCRIPTION OF TESTS AND SUBTESTS AND SAMPLE ITEMS*

Body Parts Test

1. Pointing -- items - Child pointed to parts of his own body when named by tester. Five items were eliminated from the posttest since over 95% answered them correctly on the pretest.

2. Naming -- 20 items - Child named the parts of the body pointed to by the tester. Five items were eliminated from the posttest.

3. Function (point) -- 8 items - Child pointed to pictures of body parts that performed certain functions.

   See Sample item 1.

4. Function (verbal) -- 4 items - Child supplied name of body part used to perform a certain function.

   Example: You walk with your feet.
   You smell with your nose.
   What do you see with?

Letters Test

1. Matching -- 11 items and 1 example item - Child pointed to one of four pictures, letters, numbers, geometric forms, or words that matched the stimulus.

2. Recognizing Letters -- 8 items - Child selected a named letter from four letters presented.

3. Naming Capital Letters -- 16 items - Child gave name of each capital letter pointed to by tester.

4. Naming Lower Case Letters -- 8 items - Child gave name of each lower case letter pointed to by tester.

5. Matching Letters In Words -- 4 items - Child pointed to one of three containing the stimulus letter.

6. Recognizing Letters In Words -- 4 items - Child pointed to one of three words containing a letter named verbally by the tester.

7. Initial Sounds -- 4 items on the pretest and 6 items on the posttest - Child selected a word (presented verbally and pictorially) that started with a letter named by the tester.

   Example: This is sock, table, car, ring.
   Which one begins with T?

*Percentages of all 943 children answering each sample item are listed according to the children's viewing quartiles. For an explanation of quartiles, see Chapter III, Section A of the report.

8. Reading Words -- 6 items - Child read each word as presented one at a time.

9. Reciting Alphabet -- 1 item

Forms Test

1. Recognizing Forms -- 4 items - Child pointed to one of four forms named by tester.

2. Naming Forms -- 4 items - Child gave name of each form pointed to by tester.

Numbers Test

1. Recognizing Numbers -- 6 items - Child pointed to one of our numbers named by tester.

2. Naming Numbers -- 15 items - Child gave name of each number pointed to by tester.

3. Numerosity -- 6 items - Child pointed to group of objects that contained a specified number or he separated specified number of checkers from a stack of 10 checkers.

   See Sample item 2.

4. Counting -- 9 items - Child counted various numbers of pictures,

checkers, or parts of his body.

5. Adding and Subtracting -- 7 items - Child solved simple arithmetic problems.

    See sample item 3.

6. Counting from 1 to 20 -- 1 item

Sorting Skills Test -- 6 items - Child selected one of our pictures that did not "go" with the others because of a difference in size, shape, number, or function.

See sample item 4.

Relational Terms Test -- 17 items - Child pointed to picture that showed a relationship of size, position, amount, or distance; child manipulated checkers to demonstrate knowledge of amount relationships.

See sample item 5.

Classification Skills Test -- 24 items - Child was presented pictures of three objects that had one property in common. (size, form, number, or function.) He selected one of four other pictures that "belonged" or was the "same" as the three originally presented.

See sample item 6.

Child gave reason why the picture "belonged" with the others. Child supplied an example of a certain characteristic:

Example: People wear shoes.
People wear shirts.
What else do people wear?

Puzzles Test -- 10 items but only five in common between pre and posttest - Child pointed to one of four pictures that had something wrong or missing in it. Child told tester what was wrong or missing in a picture.

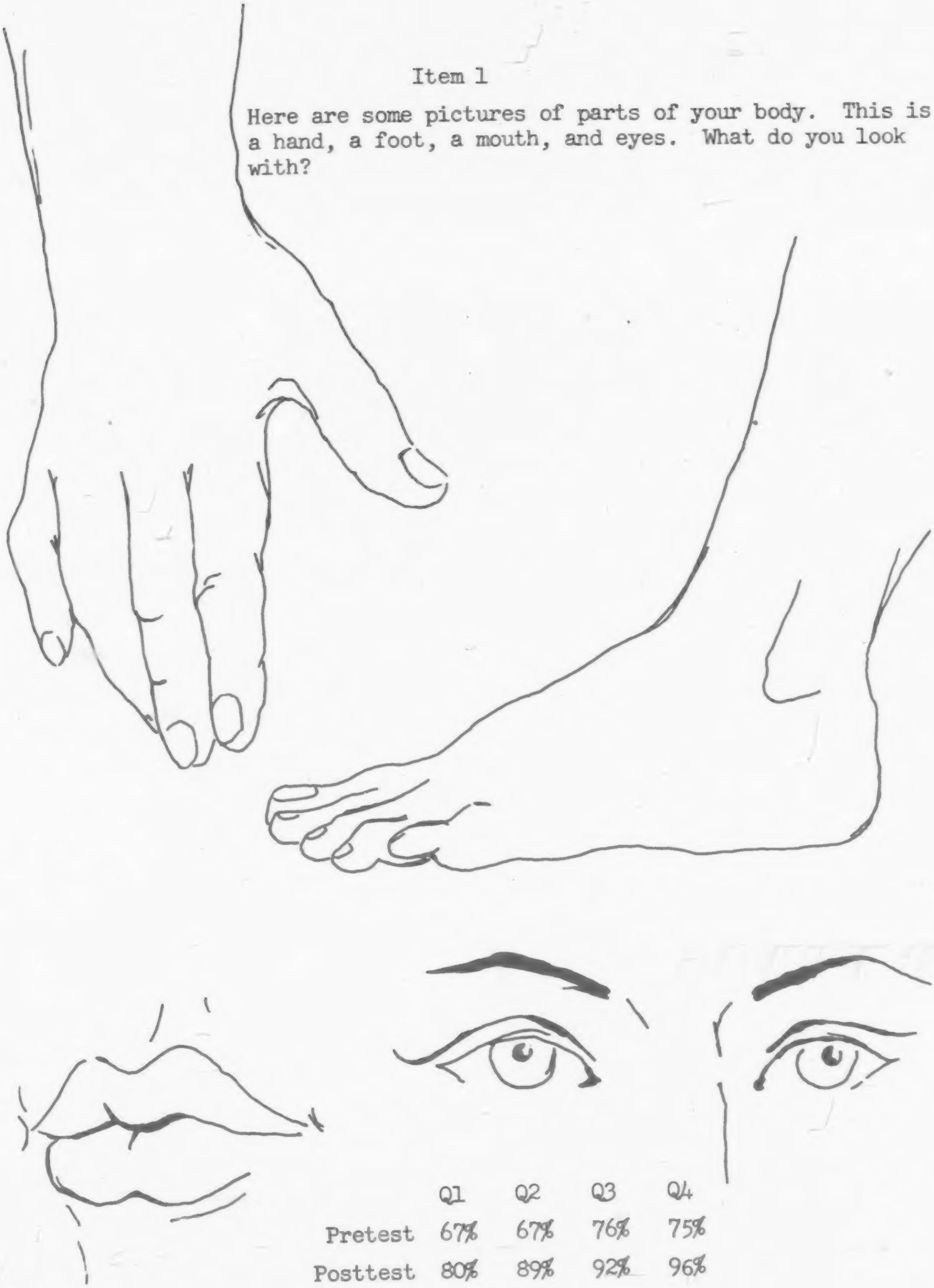
Hidden Triangles Test -- 10 items - Child pointed to one of four pictures that had an equilateral triangle embedded in it.

Which Comes First Test - 12 items - Child pointed to one of four pictures that was first or last in the sequence of events represented.

See sample item 7.

Item 1

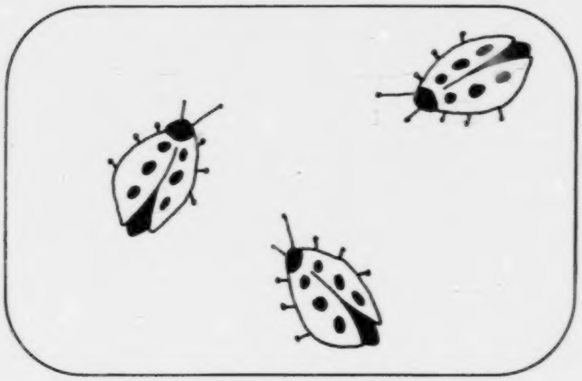
Here are some pictures of parts of your body. This is a hand, a foot, a mouth, and eyes. What do you look with?

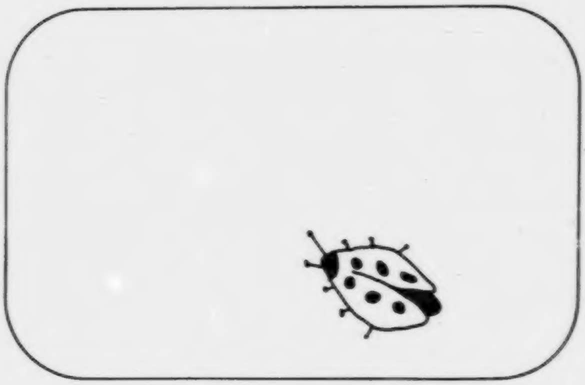


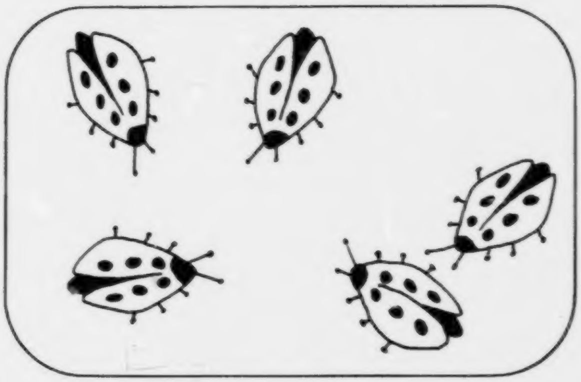
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Pretest	67%	67%	76%	75%
Posttest	80%	89%	92%	96%

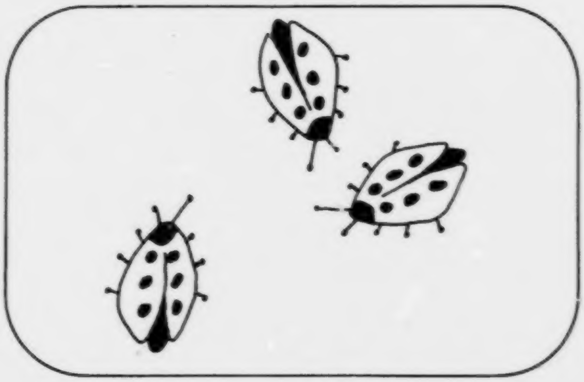
Item 2

Look at the ladybugs here, here, here, and here. Which box has five ladybugs?









	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Pretest	47%	55%	62%	71%
Posttest	60%	74%	80%	87%

effective with black disadvantaged children as with the white disadvantaged, that the disadvantaged among frequent viewers gained as much as did the advantaged, and that 3-year-olds among the most frequent viewers gained more and ended with higher total scores than older children who viewed less frequently.

- Teacher evaluations suggest that the more frequent viewers of first-year "Sesame Street" programs were better prepared for school than the infrequent viewers among their classmates. More importantly, no basis could be found for fears expressed by some observers that "Sesame Street" viewers, accustomed to a fast-paced entertaining television format, would be "turned off" by conventional classroom instruction when they started school.
- First-year viewers who watched at home during the second year gained in most of the new and complex goal areas added in the second year.
- Children who started watching during the second year gained significantly more in most goal areas than did nonviewing children. Gains were greatest in first-year goal areas and least in new goal areas.
- Encouragement of children to view the program, carried out by community people, was an important factor affecting the gains among viewers.
- Measures of attitudes, employed this year for the first time, showed gains in favorable attitudes toward school and toward people of other races among at-home viewers of both program series.
- Overall gains among 3-, 4-, and 5-year-olds were about equal, indicating the show is having a positive effect at all of the age levels for which it was designed.
- The new research suggests that, as a side effect, the program may be having a positive impact on gains in vocabulary, mental age and IQ, or at least in viewers' performance on one of the standardized tests used with preschool children.

It need only be mentioned that we are dealing here with findings of an independent research organization commissioned, but not controlled by, the CTW. While formative research is doubtless best conducted as an organizational effort, the summative work obviously requires the objective evaluation that can be done reliably only by an outside source.

THE CONDITION OF PERMANENT PRODUCTION

The melding of the research process into a continuing self-correction process of production appears revolutionary in its potential impact on future production. The Workshop has fashioned a system of creation, testing, feedback and adjustment which is, in effect, a regenerative process leading to a condition of permanent production.

The conventional educational television effort is an extension, for the most part, of the traditional practice of course development and use. A curriculum is divided into chapters, or programs, and made available to schools and stations for use as a complete "package" of educational materials for broadcast. Long-time use is inherent in its conception and execution. Once a series of this kind enters into the system, it can enjoy a long and productive life, and involve only the modest additional costs of shipping and mailing and replacement of prints. It is a *completed* series with a finite subject and treatment range, whose useful life ends only when a new series appears which represents a pedagogical, technical or television advance. But that new series, too, will be finite, complete.

"Sesame Street," by contrast, is incomplete and open-ended. Its experimental character has been maintained through the course of actual production, and in the third year, is as significant as it was during the first testing period prior to broadcast. The reasons are:

1. From the point of view of the CTW staff, the "Sesame Street" educational potential is far from being fully realized. The Workshop is still in the pioneering stage so far as they are concerned. Accustomed as they now are to guide their creative efforts on the basis of the findings of research, they are encouraged to attempt new approaches and techniques, limited only by their imaginations as disciplined through experience; it is only by making such a continuing creative effort that freshness and brightness can be maintained consistently.
2. As the production team sees the viewer, he is living in a time when social conditions, values, public attitudes and cultural tastes and fashions, family and human relationships are subject to rapid change; because of the central life role now played by the media, the dynamics of the social process involves the young child as well as the adult, affecting both what he sees on the television screen and his own responses. It is therefore important not to fall behind in terms of attitudes and topical material, particularly where humor is concerned.
3. The daily schedule means that endless repetition of material must be ruled out; even though the 4-year-old loves repetition, that is true only up to a point, after which boredom sets in. The Workshop research staff has determined that there is a limited repeat life to most of the program material. Therefore, even with maximum repetition, some new production would appear to be required to carry a full season.

An important advantage of the open-end approach is that it permits program response of a basic kind to significant social needs when it becomes apparent that such response is desirable. The following comments by "Sesame Street" producer Jon Stone cite the case of the Spanish-speaking element that has altered the character of the program as a case in point. He deals also with the question of repetition:

> We have stated that we are trying to reach twelve million 3- to 5-year-olds in the country. Well, we've been on the air three years—after this season— and theoretically, our entire audience will have passed through "Sesame Street." In three years you have a whole new crop of 3- to 5-year-olds. Why not just rerun the first three years of shows forever? It's a very packed argument.
>
> The argument against it—which I feel very strongly about—is that the show has changed tremendously in the course of three years. We really have learned so much more than we knew three years ago about how to reach the children, what they need to know, and we're constantly responding to continuing research that's coming in as to what the needs of the community are, what we can do stronger, what we should rule out because it's not really relevant. The Spanish-bilingual involvement was in the third year. The first year we did nothing. The second year we did some token materials that were worse than nothing, I think. This year we're doing whole blocks of the show in Spanish, with no translation, no apology, no anything, in order to draw the Spanish-speaking, bilingual children into the show, involve them with the characters, and turn them on, not only to the Spanish, which would relate to them, but hopefully also to the 95 percent of the show which is in English, the language they are ultimately going to exist in. It also has presented some really good strong Spanish

> actors to the Anglo community. That kid out in Iowa hasn't seen anybody Spanish except the "Frito Bandito" on television. Suddenly he realizes these aren't all comic bandits that come down out of the hills. These are real people who care about kids and each other.
>
> I'm really excited about this bicultural, bilingual thing that we're into this season. I think it would be a crime if we reran these first three years of shows forever—if we are aired in the bilingual area—because two out of the three years have absolutely nothing in them for this huge section of our population.

At the same time, many of the "Sesame Street" bits admittedly have a fairly long life and the current broadcast schedule contains first-year pieces. Stone recognizes the four-year tolerance for repetition, that it goes far beyond what the adult can stand. But it has its limits. This is shown by research, which simply corroborates what the "4-year-old in my head" concludes through direct experience. Here Stone is talking about the necessity of having a single point of view disciplining the program, which he felt was beginning to be lost because administrative needs were keeping him out of the studio:

> Several things bothered me. One in production—that was the sameness in the show from day to day. I just couldn't tell at the end of last year whether I'd seen that show. We have a repetition factor of component parts. I was very anxious to find some variety, especially in these nighttime scenes you are seeing taped today. . . it really gives the street a different look. This is the kind of thing I'd encourage the writers to come up with—more rainy-day sequences, more different things on the street. We've got a new puppet this year and it's just fantastic. It's a two-man monster that plays on the street here. It's about 20-feet long and about nine feet high and looks like a cross between an anteater and an elephant. But that gives the street a different look, believe me.
>
> LAND: Is the different look a requirement of the people who are doing the show or of the children?
>
> STONE: I think it's the children. I honestly don't have doubts to substantiate that, but I see the show through the 4-year-old in my head, and I just got bored with it. I watch it for a while and say: "Gee, I've seen this so many times now, I just don't want to watch it anymore." I really think 4-year olds have basically that reaction.
>
> LAND: But you don't know.
>
> STONE: I don't know.
>
> LAND: This is your gut feeling?
>
> STONE: Yes. And my gut feeling over the years has been more right than it's been wrong.

Change is also mandatory, Stone argues, because of what research uncovers that affects curriculum goals:

> In terms of curriculum I was very disturbed. The first year we set our goals low because we didn't know what we were going to be able to accomplish. The ETS study came in the first year and showed that, in fact, we had

> accomplished much more than we had set out to do. We got very cocky that second year. We kept all our curriculum goals and added some very sophisticated concepts, such as verbal blending, word families and quite sophisticated counting strategies and additions and subtractions.
>
> At the end of last season I felt we had betrayed our initial intentions by catering really to the middle-class child and the child who is getting an outside stimulus, and abandoning the children who had only "Sesame Street" for this information as well as the very young members of our audience—2½-year-olds and the 3-year-olds. I pulled everything way back. The new films we commissioned were very simple. We cut addition and subtraction down to adding and subtracting one item at a time only.

The early ETS findings had begun to trickle through production by the time of the interview. They showed that even very young children were grasping some of the sophisticated concepts whose presence was troubling Stone; the research department was advising programming to retain the word families, but to treat them less intensively than during the past season. Stone comments that while on the curriculum level as such, he can lean on precise research findings, in the less tangible areas of pacing and mood, he has to rely largely on his own intuitive response to what is occurring on the screen. In any event, he concluded that the tempo and scope of the program had to be adjusted in the light of hard findings and judgment for the third season.

The continuing search for variety, freshness and relevance has led to major changes in the program's aspect. Not only does it incorporate material pointed directly to our Spanish-speaking minority, it presents an enlarged cast more than twice the size of the original, a new major puppet character, and new relationships between cast members, as well as new situations and subject matter. As head writer Jeff Moss points out, by now the writers had pretty well realized the possibilities inherent in the four original cast members.

CONSEQUENCES OF PERMANENT PRODUCTION

Obviously, a condition of permanent production calls for staff and operational continuity affecting all organizational life. The feeling of the staff that they are always on the frontier of new creative discovery acts to maintain enthusiasm and high morale.

At the same time, new creative attempts, along with the generation of new findings affecting both program character and curriculum goals, act to freshen channels of promotion and field services, which must continually reflect and adapt to the new content and research results in their own operations.

Internally, this puts a premium on efficient interdepartmental communications, usually a troublesome aspect of organizational life. Typically, there is a gap between programming and promotion in this respect, stemming from the inferior status the information function holds in the less sophisticated operation. This does not seem to be the case with the CTW, where the information function is conceived as basic, and where relations between that department and programming appear intimate and strong. There appears to be some catching up to do, however, where the newer field services department is concerned. The effort is being made, as the problem becomes clearer. At bottom, the lag stems from the lack of a historical positioning of the utilization function as a basic, integral ingredient in educational television projects. As the section on Field Services indicates, however, such positioning is one of the achievements of the Workshop, which is fully conscious of this department's significance.

Perhaps the most important implications of permanent production are to be found in the funding and planning areas. To begin with, it rules out budgeting

Excerpt from:
"The First Year of Sesame Street: A Summary of Audience Surveys." Vol. IV Compiled by Bruce Samuels

SUMMARY

Title and Date	Surveyor	Purpose	Character of Sample	Size of Sample	Availability	Penetration
A. "Role and Penetration of S/S in Ghetto Communities." 1. Bedford Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, N.Y. April 1970	Daniel Yankelovich, Inc.	1. Definitive and Reliable Reading on Penetration in low-income areas. 2. Serviceability of show to underprivileged ghetto children.	1. Ages 2-5 yrs. 2. Not in school 3. TV in working order.	500 households, (611 children)	VHF Channel 9:00 am 11 11:30 am 13 4:30 pm 13 UHF Channel 9:30 am 25 10:00 am 31 5:30 pm 21 Sat. 8:00 am-1:00 pm on Channel 13	91% Penetration
2. East Harlem Manhattan, NYC April 1970	Daniel Yankelovich, Inc.	1. Same as above 2. " " " 3. Effect of Spanish-speaking households on (1) and (2).	1. Same as above 2. " " " 3. " " " 4. Spanish-speaking household.	100 households.	Same as above	78% penetration 91% of viewers watch three or more times per week.
3. Washington, D.C. April 1970	Daniel Yankelovich, Inc.	1. Same as above 2. Effect of UHF transmission. 3. Reactions to the program.	1. Same as above 2. " " " 3. " " "	297 households.	VHF Channel None UHF Channel 9:00 am 26 4:00 pm (WETA) Sat. 8:00 am-2:00 pm Sun. 7:00 pm	32% penetration 66% of viewers watch four or more times per wk. (20% have no UHF)

Title and Date	Surveyor	Purpose	Character of Sample	Size of Sample	Availability	Penetration
4. Chicago, Ill. May 1970	Daniel Yankelovich, Inc.	1. Penetration of show in city only serviced by educational TV transmission and not supported by any extensive utilization program.	1. Same as above 2. " " " 3. " " "	307 households.	VHF Channel 9:30 am 11 3:30 pm 11	88% penetration 50% of viewers watch daily
B. "Sesame Street: Is the Inner City Watching?" Philadelphia, Pa. May 1970	Susan C. Greene, University of Pa., Master's Thesis.	1. Attractiveness of S/S to low-income minority groups. 2. Penetration in inner-city ghetto.	1. Ages 2-5 yrs. 2. Not in school 3. TV in working order.	252 households, (370 children)	VHF Channel 9:00 am 12 (WHYY) 4:00 pm 12	72% penetration 86% four or more times per week.
C. Audience Development Research New York City, New Jersey and Connecticut February 1970	CTW's Utilization Dept. Melba Taylor and Bruce Samuels.	1. Penetration of show in schools & at home. 2. Teachers' evaluation of show. 3. Availability of TV in schools. 4. Use of S/S guide, etc.	1. Ages 3-5 yrs., plus K - 3rd grade in school testing service 2. In pre-school or elementary school.	170 schools (12,453 children)	NYC and N.J. VHF Channel 9:00 am 11 11:30 am 13 4:30 pm 13 UHF Channel 9:30 am 25 10:00 am 31 5:30 pm 21 Sat. 8:00 am-1:00 pm on Channel 13	50% in school (27% of schools had no TV)

Title and Date	Surveyor	Purpose	Character of Sample	Size of Sample	Availability	Penetration
					CONNECTICUT UHF Channel Bridgeport WEDW 29 Hartford WEDH 24 Norwich WEDN 53	
D."The First Year of Sesame Street: An Evaluation" 1. Durham, N.C. 2. Boston, Mass. 3. Phoenix, Ariz. 4. Rural, Calif. November 1969 - May 1970	Educational Testing Service Princeton, New Jersey Samuel Ball Gerry A. Bogatz	Achievement Testing	1. Ages 3-5 yrs. 2. Not in school 3. TV in working order. 4. Lower socio-economic levels.	287 children (not encouraged to watch).	VHF in all cities. Durham, N.C. 10:00 am 5:00 pm WUNC 4 Boston, Mass. 10:00 am 4:00 pm WGBH 2 Phoenix, Ariz. 3:00 pm KAET 8	53% penetration 32% four or more times per week.

Title and Date	Surveyor	Purpose	Character of Sample	Size of Sample	Availability	Penetration
					California 1. Redding 11:30 am 4:00 pm KIXE 9 2. Sacramento 9:00 am 4:00 pm KVIE 6	
E. Miscellaneous Surveys 1. "Main Street" Charlottesville, Virginia April 1970	College class project, University of Virginia	1. Penetration measurement to determine if underprivileged preschool children watch "Sesame Street."	1. Ages 2-6 yrs. 2. At home (see body of report)	75 households	Cable TV - UHF 8:00 am 6:30 pm Richmond WCVE	53% penetration 63% of viewers watch 5 times or more per week. 42% of target audience (families with incomes of less than $100/wk. watch "Sesame St."
2. "Viewing of "Sesame Street" in Milwaukee" November 1969	Charles M. Rossiter, Jr. and Nami C. Jain (faculty members of the University of Wisconsin)	To determine: 1. Awareness and viewing patterns of "Sesame Street" 2. Information-relay behavior of those who are aware of the show	Milwaukee, Wisc. households	134 households	VHF Channel 10 (WMUS) 11:30 am 4:00 pm	69% penetration 59% watch 5 or more times per wk.

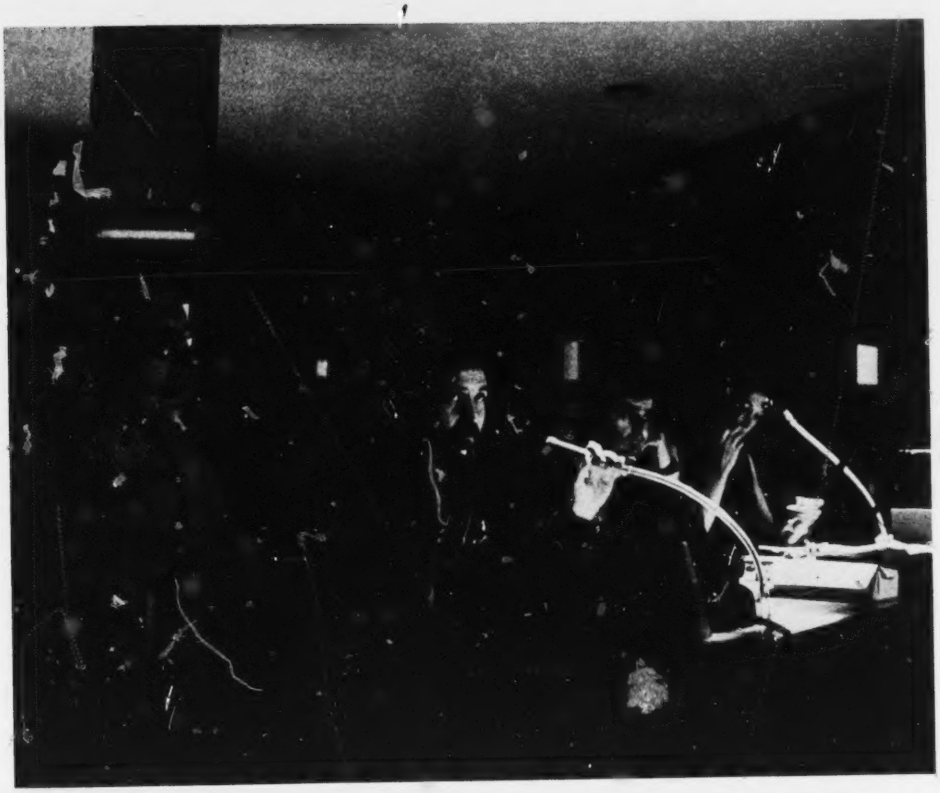
Title and Date	Surveyor	Purpose	Character of Sample	Size of Sample	Availability	Penetration
		3. Audience opinion of "Sesame Street."				
F. Nielsen Television Index. 1."Sesame Street" Ratings by Income Groups January 27, 1970	A.C. Nielsen Company, New York City Ralph T. Clausen	To determine audience penetration by income groups	58.5 million nationwide TV households.	58.5 million households.	177 nationwide TV stations	composite audience: 2.3 per cent of 58.5 million households
2. Nationwide Index November 24, 1969 to March 8, 1970	A.C. Nielsen Company New York City	To determine nationwide audience penetration.	58.5 million nationwide TV households	58.5 million households	177 nationwide TV stations	Average Audience in thousands: 1,110 to 2,400
3. Nationwide index for Four Weeks, ending February 8, 1970 by Income Groups. February 8, 1970	A.C. Nielsen Company New York City	To determine audience penetration by income groups in homes with children under 6 yrs.			177 nationwide TV stations.	

Title and Date	Surveyor	Purpose	Character of Sample	Size of Sample	Availability	Penetration
4. Boston Area Index February 1970	A.C. Nielsen Company New York City	To determine audience penetration in Boston, Mass.	Boston, Mass. population.		VHF - Channel 2 (WGBH) 10:00 am 4:00 pm	Total viewers: 735,000
G. Arbitron Audience Estimates New York City Area Weekly Report November 14, 1969	American Research Bureau	To determine audience penetration for WNDT (Channel 13) for first week of "Sesame Street."	Ethnic and socio-economic cross section of 255 metropolitan homes.	255 households.	VHF - Channel 13 (WNDT) 11:30 am 4:30 pm	Weekly average percentage of TVs turned to WNDT: Low - 2.2% High - 4.9%
H. "Audience Survey, Inner City and Disadvantaged Areas" Boston Area January 23, 1970	Gwen Peters	To determine audience penetration of "Sesame Street" into schools for 3 to 5 year old children	Preschool children in school setting.	260 schools (12,369 children).	VHF - Channel 2 (WGBH) 10:00 am 4:00 pm	100% penetration All children (12,369 watched the show)
I. "Metropolitan N.Y. Public School Utilization Survey" New York City April 30, 1970	Utilization Department of Children's Television Workshop Evelyn P. Davis, Director	To determine the penetration of "Sesame Street" into elementary schools in metropolitan N.Y.C.	Elementary school children Grades: kindergarten thru second grade.	346 schools	VHF Channel 9:00 am 11 11:30 am 13 4:30 pm 13 UHF Channel 9:30 am 25 10:00 am 31 5:30 pm 21 Sat. 8:00 am-1:00 pm on Channel 13	73% of the schools view "Sesame St." regularly or sometimes.

for a single production operation. Rather, budgeting must presume a continuing set of functions as exhibited by the CTW, on a permanent basis. That does not mean that no savings can be achieved through reuse of program materials, since, as the Workshop experience demonstrates, there is considerable broadcast life in much of what is produced. It does mean that:

1. Depending on the project, a substantial portion of what appears on the screen will have to be thought of as new production, calling for the appropriate long-term staff requirements.
2. The functions of promotion, field services and research will be required, not merely on a continuing basis, but *very likely on an expanded basis*, especially if the programming achieves the recognition and acceptance on the "Sesame Street" scale. In other words, costs incurred by these departments can be expected to stay level at the least, and very possibly to rise; this is certainly the case with field services, whose effectiveness cannot truly be realized until the program has demonstrated that it merits such follow-up effort through testing in the acid laboratory of actual broadcast.

The second year's CTW budget was reduced to $6 million owing to the absence of the first year's start-up costs and improved production efficiency. However, field servicing promotion costs rose from $600,000 to $1 million.



Jon Stone (second from left) in control room with "Sesame Street" staff and studio technicians.

CHAPTER SIX

PRODUCING THE PROGRAM

> The one critical decision that Joan made at the very outset was to go into the world of commercial television and hire successful commercial professionals to do an educational television program. It goes against the grain of all the traditional educational television thinking. This show is really put together from a show business point of view with a spinal column of education to it.
>
> Jon Stone, producer of "Sesame Street."

"Sesame Street's" program character and quality are derived from the American commercial television system, which provided its key personnel and standards of production. Vice-president and executive producer David Connell, "Sesame Street" producer Jon Stone and head writer Jeff Moss, together with the producer of "The Electric Company," Sam Gibbon, are all veterans of the CBS series "Captain Kangaroo." Their budgets are watched over by another CBS veteran, Thomas Kennedy, vice-president of finance and administration. So heavy, in fact, is the CBS representation on the Workshop employment rolls, that the trade paper *Variety* found the subject worthy of a story this past fall.

The scope and pioneering aspects of the project allowed no room for amateurism or the perhaps greatly talented but untested skills of a promising producer. It quickly became clear from her early discussions with network executives that the success of the project called for an ability to produce, under *volume requirements*, an eclectic production point of view not wedded to any given screen technique in advance, and direct experience in programming for children. For example, these points came up in her first conversation with CBS program head Michael Dann.

His argument: Joan Cooney was apparently ready to begin except for one thing—her executive producer. She could easily make one fundamental mistake. By not getting someone who was exactly right for the production job, she and her colleagues could well find themselves in a production morass, unable to cope with the requirements of the daily load. Dann told her: "The challenge of turning out a daily hour program is so staggering, and you have no competence yourselves in doing it, that you must find a man who has done it. You cannot take the chance of getting anybody who hasn't actually physically done this job."

He recalled for them the long-ago "Show of Shows," launched by NBC in the early television days under the production banner of Max Leibmann. Although Liebmann had no television experience, he was retained by NBC chief Sylvester (Pat) Weaver because he had been doing a weekly variety program in the famous "Borscht Belt" of the Catskill Mountains in New York, and he knew how to put such a show together.

Similarly, regardless of other virtues, the Workshop producer should have the ability to organize the operation for *volume* production so that management would know the program would start and end on time, the picture would be clear, there would, indeed, be a show each day.

Moreover, there should be one production chief, as opposed to rotating producers, in order to achieve a consistent level of quality and a series coherence.

It is equally important, Dann believes, that in a pioneering venture there be no advance commitment to a specific production technique, such as film or cartoon or live. The producer, in short, should not be one who works only in a particular form, however capable he may be. Rather, he should be open-minded in this respect, ready to accept any technique or form that the empirical development of the project indicates will be most effective.

These requirements were all met by David Connell. He had been turning out about 300 programs a year of "Captain Kangaroo," was quite ready to search out new forms, and was experienced in programming for young children. So Dann recommended him. At that time, Connell was a partner in a young film firm that was active in the industrial film field.

REQUIREMENTS OF VOLUME PRODUCTION

Producing five programs per week is not simply a matter of doing five times as much work or of hiring enough people. The difference in scale has fundamental effects in the way the organization functions. According to David Connell:

> The design problem is different. It's rather subtle, but very important. To do the one-hour gem, you can spend a year, six months, two years, fashioning it, and it is then over. To do a daily program, the designing you must do is the designing of the assembly line, the designing of the factory. Obviously, you have to design the product, but it has to be done with a view of the fact that you have to turn it out at the rate of one a day.

STOCKPILING

To begin with, it is necessary to stockpile a substantial library of existing material that can be "slugged" into the program on a daily basis, which is capable of holding up in terms of audience appeal, and which bears repetition.

STUDIO CAPACITY

It is essential to have a realistic grasp of how much can be accomplished in the studio during one working day. The schedule of "Sesame Street" demanded that at least one show's production be completed, otherwise the budget would be vastly exceeded and scheduling complications would be generated, Connell felt.

> This is the assembly line. When that dammed conveyor belt starts going, you cannot fall behind. How much is it reasonable to be able to get done in a studio in a day given the production design?

At the time of the interview, the first shows of "The Electric Company" were in production. It had already become clear to Connell that he and his team had designed a program that was turning out to be somewhat more difficult to produce than anticipated. As a result, production volume had begun to fall somewhat behind schedule.

Among the important considerations is the daily presentation of a script to the actors. It is unrealistic, Connell feels, to expect them to memorize twenty minutes or so of new material every day. This means cue cards have to be prepared. How quickly the cast works, its ability to think its way through on an ad-lib basis, is a planning consideration.

Vital to the whole enterprise, of course, is a director who can "crank the stuff out" and writers who can create on a sustained quality level under short deadline conditions.

The factory aspect, then, is "pivotal." At the same time, the freshness and entertainment values of the program must be preserved.

ONE PRODUCER FOR EACH SERIES

The present producer assignment setup differs from that which prevailed the first year. At that time producers reporting to Connell were put in charge of particular areas of production. Jon Stone was in charge of writing and casting. Sam Gibbon was responsible for studio production and curriculum coordination—that is, he would scrutinize scripts to see that they adhered to the curriculum goals. Matt Robinson was put in charge of live-action film inserts. He is now a member of the "Sesame Street" cast.

This arrangement, though it managed to produce a historic television success, was still not entirely satisfactory, so far as Connell was concerned. The decision to begin work on what was to become "The Electric Company" led Connell to make a structural change. In the fall of 1969, with the hit status of "Sesame Street" already assured, Sam Gibbon was given the assignment of doing "The Electric Company" feasibility study. The new organizational chart now shows one producer in charge of a series as a whole. Sam Gibbon is the producer of "The Electric Company," Jon Stone is the producer of "Sesame Street." Norton Wright is producing the international materials (except for the Spanish-language "Plaza Sesamo," which is produced in Mexico City).

For producer Jon Stone, this approach makes more sense than the one used the first year, because it allows for one point of view to be brought to bear on the program. His main function is to preserve that overall point of view, to know when "Sesame Street" is on track, to spot when a segment begins to veer off. Having full charge, Stone is also in a better position to insulate his production unit from corporate involvements that he tends to regard as a waste of time and talent. Formerly, he spent too much time, in his opinion, back in headquarters on administrative matters.

Now he spends his days in the studio, where he feels he belongs and can do his creative best.

PRODUCTION STAFF

The total number of individuals, on and off staff, who are involved in the production of "Sesame Street" is over a hundred. Staff people number about 36 less than the previous year, according to Jon Stone.

There are three associate producers: one is in charge of animation; one has an advisory function in the bilingual (Spanish) area; one is in charge of schedules, actors' bookings, etc.

In Stone's view: "The associate producers make television shows work. They are the key to the operation."

In addition, there is an assistant to the producer, two production assistants, two video tape editors, a music director with two assistants (handling both "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company"), two graphic artists, two directors, an assistant director, two set decorators, a scenic artist with an assistant.

THE WRITER'S VIEW

There are seven writers creating scripts for "Sesame Street," one of whom is head writer Jeff Moss.

It is a perennial lament of a continually mystified medium that there are just not enough good writers around. This holds true for the Children's Television Workshop, which makes the added demand on creative talent that it be specifically directed to children's needs.

Here we are dealing with the most intangible element of a production: the ideas, visions and intuitions of the people who create the script on which the entire edifice is built. It is important to understand the particular genius of a program concept and precisely the kind of talent that can serve it successfully. Each program has its own character, therefore its own needs. Once again, proven professionalism is a more reliable guide than a set of rules for choosing the writers. What is called for is the ability to recognize the right talent when it appears and to work with it so that it has its best opportunity to flower. Imagination and originality cannot, of course, be made to order. And that is what we are dealing with.

The following discussion by "Sesame Street" head writer Jeff Moss tells something of the problems involved:

> At the very outset, there were basically four of us writing the entire show—which is five hours of television a week. That

> was where the main problem was. Then we were writing six. After awhile Jon [Stone] would write two a week, I would write two a week, and all the other people would write one a week when there was one between them, and one each when there were two of them. The problem was pressure more than anything else. But the pressure was balanced by the kind of creative people who ended up on the show . . . who worked together, who thought more or less the same way, who could encourage each other, who could help each other. . . their values are the hardest thing to find for the show.
>
> We tried to get professional comedy writers to do it. But all they are concerned with is being funny. Because of that they lose both the educational thing and the idea of getting across to 4-year-olds.
>
> We've had educators, teacher-types, try to do it. They are even worse, because all they are concerned with is to bring truth and knowledge to the kids—they don't have the sense of whimsy or the sense of humor. The thing that our writing staff has now is, first of all, professional ability, second, they have a little bit of 4-year-old craziness that makes them right for this thing. The fact that they can do it doesn't mean that they can do anything else in the world. The fact that they can do everything else in the world doesn't mean that they can do this. It's a unique thing.

THE "SESAME STREET" POINT OF VIEW

Again and again in talking with the creative staff of the CTW, one is struck with the stress placed on the intuitive character of the response to a scene or script that determines whether or not it is on target. Here is where the combination of experience and talent comes into play. Says Moss:

> There is a point of view to the entire show that *is* "Sesame Street." I'd say that if there are eight or nine people who understand what that is, it's a lot. I can look at it and tell you whether it is or not. And that's what I'm paid to do. It's a sense where the visual is the most important thing. What the kid is watching on the television set either keeps his attention or it doesn't. He may be hearing the most fascinating things in the world, but if his attention isn't grasped, he's not going to watch it. That's first of all. Second, it's got to be funny. But it's got to be funny on one level with a narrow set of bounds. . . . It's got to be funny so that a 4-year-old thinks it's funny. Then it's got to be educational, *which comes after its being entertaining.*
>
> I don't know whether we do what we do subconsciously or not, but whatever it is, it enables college students, 10-year-olds and adults to enjoy the show also. In other words, you can do something that a kid will think is funny, and then there is something else in there that a kid may perfectly well also enjoy, but it's not *his* humor, not his education. He's getting his humor and his education. The other is a sort of added throw-in for whomever else is watching the set, which is by far the least important thing.

It is a Moss conviction that no one can write successfully for "Sesame Street" if his "heart isn't in the right place." It is not enough to want to earn a living. One has to be able to watch and enjoy the show sincerely and believe it is important, not in any way inferior because it is aimed at little children. Above all, the writer cannot condescend to his audience. It simply doesn't work.

The uniqueness of the "Sesame Street" writer is also stressed by Jon Stone. Stone was the original writer for the show, moving into his present producer post from the head writer position. He adds the following writer requirements to those described by Moss:

> The ability to understand a sophisticated curriculum—something that doesn't happen overnight.
>
> An understanding of all the limitations and possibilities of a complicated electronic medium.
>
> A sense of show business—how to structure the show so that the hour moves from piece to piece and has islands of slowness in it to change the pace or keep it going.

EXTENT OF SCRIPT IN ACTUAL PROGRAM

It is easy to be misled by the skill of the performers into thinking there is more ad-libbing than there really is, Jeff Moss reminds us. The layman, particularly, will see a Muppet bit and marvel that Jim Henson is so brilliant and skillful in ad-libbing, when all the time the ad-lib is a word-for-word reading of a script. "Sesame Street," moreover, is a highly and very carefully structured show; this structuring is the work of writers.

THE "WRITER'S NOTEBOOK"

When the "Sesame Street" development began, Jon Stone was convinced the educational demands of the program were going to be the chief difficulty. He very quickly came to realize that the opposite was the case:

> It's always been something to come back to, to spin plot lines off of. . . to have a strong, firm, well-thought out, understood curriculum for each show which relates to the shows around it in the overall series. It's been a fantastic boon to the writers.

The instructional aim is what disciplines the writing effort, provides its direction, establishes its parameters. There is a clearly defined target audience. For the writer, then, there is no fumbling through the usual inchoate maelstrom of ideas, images and feelings in a search for theme or substance. He is dealing with a precisely delineated objective environment, calling for absolute clarity of purpose. It is in *how* he reaches the already given goals, that the writer expresses his talents and makes his contribution.

To be in a position to do this, he must begin with a sure footing in the educational objectives, in order to give his fantasy its full free play. As Moss and Stone point out, it takes time for the layman to absorb the educator's concepts, not to speak of his jargon, lending weight to the wisdom of having the key creative people live with a developing project from its beginning. Operationally, however, it is not enough to understand the goals in general. They must be broken down in specific terms and planned for incorporation on an individual program basis.

To assist the writing and producing staff, the research department has prepared a "Writer's Notebook," which it updates regularly. Its purpose is twofold: (1) to help the writer understand the educational concepts; (2) to point to specific teaching strategies that might be used. The "Notebook" will suggest situations that young children are familiar with, which may stimulate script approaches.

Thus, a writer may find on his assignment sheet the goal "Inferring Consequent Events" and be momentarily unsure of its meaning.

He can look it up in the "Notebook," where he will also find examples of how the subject might be treated. These are not examples cited for use directly in the script. They are there to help the writer get a firm grasp on the concept. The

Notebook resembles a dictionary or thesaurus to some degree. For example, the "Notebook" for "The Electric Company" contains a detailed explanation of policy on black dialect. This enables the writer to handle such dialect on a secure basis, rather than to rely on an imperfect memory of black speech patterns.

Dave Connell warns that the "Writer's Notebook" must be seen for what it is, not a panacea, but an operational aid designed to bridge the worlds of educational research and production. Those unsophisticated in the ways of television programming, he cautions, tend to think that it is a device which solves all problems. It doesn't.

The "Writer's Notebook" was created as a response to the needs of the writing staff. As vice-president of research Edward Palmer recalls, it began one day when the head writer, Jon Stone, came into his office and complained that he was having a problem working from the assignment sheet. This is a one-page statement of curriculum areas for the program.

> Jon Stone said to me: "I've had to write on 'Inferring Consequent Events' three times. I have to do it now a fourth time. I've been sitting there staring at that statement (in the curriculum statement) for about half an hour, and the creative juices aren't flowing."
>
> They were in a crush in putting together scripts for whole shows. They were knocking themselves out to make this happen. It's a full hour-long television program a day, and they were going to try to put five to seven of them into the can every week. They were under a real crush and they were shouting for help. I set up some brainstorming sessions in the curriculum areas in which they said they most needed help. They said: "Just some suggestions—we don't want scripts—but we need something that's not just the goal statement." That was the right description. Exactly what they needed was something that was somewhere between a goal statement and a script.

Palmer's following example illustrates how the researcher contributes to the writer's task, without encroaching directly on his domain:

> Let's say that in the area of reasoning and problem solving we are dealing with the goal, "Inferring Antecedent Events." I sit down and think about it. . . and it pops into my mind that here we're dealing with clues. It sounds like detective stuff, as though if something happened, it might have been a Rube Goldberg device. . . some peculiar chain of circumstances may have led up to this. So I suggest to Jon Stone: "Well, here we're dealing with clues and a detective kind of thing. We may also be dealing with a hunter who also looks at clues. . . he looks at tracks. . . . We might use a form like what left this track or what must have been here in order for this to be here. And I write all of these things down. These become suggestions for the "Writer's Notebook." And the writer then thinks about Rube Goldberg devices as a complicated chain of events. Actually, the material for the "Notebook" didn't come out of research. It came out of the researchers.

The "Notebook" idea has had the additional value of providing the research staff with a creative outlet. Palmer talks of the members of his staff who felt they might have a creative contribution to make, some even going so far as to attempt scripts or storyboards, only to meet with producer responses of adjusting one's tie and grunting kindly. This was hurting relations between the two departments, particularly when a researcher's storyboard or script was rejected. With the

Excerpts from:
"Writer's Notebook"

Letters - Recognition and Labelling

a. Matching

In order for a child to be able to identify a letter he must be able to distinguish it from any other letter. Practice in matching identical letters helps to focus the child's attention on the form of the letter.

b. Make associations when possible ex. the letter S can look like a snake the letter H can look like a house.

Play sorting game using both upper and lower case letters.

c. Talk about characteristics of letter shapes.
B has two bumps
C has a piece missing
D has a straight back
E has 3 lines sticking out
G has a place to sit down etc.

d. Write lots of different sizes of a letter and explain that though some are big and some are little they are all the same letter.

e. It is important for the child to be able to recognize both upper and lower case forms of the letters but it is not necessary to always refer to the letters as capital or lower case. It is enough for the child to know that 'T' and 't' are both ts.

f. Have children match upper and lower case forms of a letter.

III. Reasoning and Problem Solving

Problems are not solved instantaneously: let child attempt problem, get frustrated, go away, think about it, return to problem, consider another solution, get angry, give up, return again.

Build up frustration level.
Even after many fruitless attempts, there is still an answer: call an older brother or parent.

Serialize problems, returning at intervals:
Big Bird tries to open a package with his feet, by blowing on it, by dropping it, kicking it, with his wings.
(As in "Preparing dinner while Susan is out" -- Show 6 - keep returning to problem, each segment ending in frustration, each new one beginning with hope: "I'll try again.")

Suggested Problems:

How to use the telephone (dialing Operator).

How to sit a Teddy Bear upright in a chair for a tea party.
(Tie him down, push table and chair closer together, let him stand on chair, put heavy book in his lap.)

How to get wobbly leg of table to stop wobbling.
(Try putting telephone book on top of table over wobbling leg--which lifts up other legs: try putting box of cereal underneath bad leg--leg crushes box; try putting soap underneath leg--slips away; try putting leg into a cup; eventually use folded piece of paper or something else appropriate.

How to stop a noisy leaky sink.
(Put a banana up the faucet; put a pot under the dripping--intensifies sound: put a wash rag under dripping; put chewing gum up spout; turn up radio; leave room.)

How to get a ball under the bed when it's too far to reach, and the bed is too low to crawl under.
(Try reaching with a shoe; throwing a book at it; blowing it; rolling another ball at it;

hopping on the bed; calling it; taping rulers together; getting a broom.
--Classic ape intelligence test: creatively putting two sticks together to form longer stick.)

"Writer's Notebook," that problem has been solved: "It provided a constructive outlet for the creative urge of the researcher."

Palmer's brainstorming sessions were limited to four or five staff researchers and consultants picked mostly from the seminars. From these free-wheeling sessions, the staff would cull those ideas that were consistent with the goals. They would be incorporated into the "Writer's Notebook." The procedure was organized by the senior curriculum specialist for "Sesame Street," Sharon Lerner.

Another technique was to go out into the field and talk to teachers directly, asking them, in relation to a given goal, about the various ways in which a situation might work itself out in the life of a youngster in the classroom or in the playground.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MUSIC

With "Sesame Street" records now of best-seller importance, it may be thought that careful consideration went into the use of music as a program ingredient. David Connell readily admits the CTW's original approach was far from scientific. The staff simply decided at the beginning that music was going to be important in the program. There was a belief, however, that it would be useful to develop a "unique sound." Fortunately, the man the staff wanted was available, Joe Rapozo, a "first-rate professional," in the description by Connell.

Rapozo was immediately enthusiastic, would respond excitedly to "ear plays of ideas," run home that night and write a song. At first, it was thought that the Rapozo job would be concentrated for the most part on finding existing songs, such as "Yellow Submarine," but very soon, that practice was discarded in favor

Joe Rapozo, Musical Director for CTW, rehearsing with singers.

WRITERS ASSIGNMENT SHEET FOR SHOW #278

TAPED______________ SHOW #278 AIRED: November 17, 1971

I.	SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION	
	Letter(s)S recap B Time: 6:00	Film: S-Subway :45 S-Sleigh :45 S-Snake :40 Film: Jack & the B stalk 1:10 Boy & Bear :30
	Alphabet Time: 1:00	VT: Alphabet Hide & Seek 3:06
	Verbal Blending Pre-Reading Skills Time: 2:00	VT: Busby Twins/Candle ?
	Number #4 Time: 3:00	VT: Bill Cosby 4 children #2 2:20 Film Penquin #4 :23 Computer #4 1:10 Country #4 ?
	Counting Time: 1:00	VT: George's Farm 1-20 ?
	Numberical Operation Addition & Time: 2:00 Conservation of #s	VT: Eight Cows (Kermit) ? Film: George's Farm-5 is always 5 VT: Adding Song 2:33
	Geometric Forms Time: 1:00	
II.	COGNITIVE ORGANIZATION	
	Recognition of Embedded Figures Perceptual Discrimination Time: 6:00	VT: The Elephant Picture (BE) 2:12
	Away From Relational Concepts Time: 6:00	(We need new bit)
	Inclusion & Differentiation Classification Time: 3:00	
III.	THE MIND & ITS POWERS	
	Generating and Evaluating Explanation Reason and Problem Solving Time: 5:00	Film: What's that Squiggle - Bird :41
IV.	THE CHILD AND HIS WORLD	
	Emotion-Fear Self Time: 3:00	VT: Grover Song-Whistle a Happy Tune (131) 2:12 Film: Touch and Feel 1:33
	Neighborhood Environment Social Units Time: 2:00	(New "People in your Neighborhood" song)
	#2 Oregon Study Social Interaction Time: 5:00	VT: Time to Eat (?)
	Man-Made Environment Time: 3:00	
	Natural Environment Time: 3:00	Film: Filmfair Water (139) 1:12 Film: Peacock Dance 1:23 Film: Dolphin Tail Walk :26
	Ecology Time: 3:00	VT: The King and the Fireman ?
V.	MISCELLANEOUS	
	Spanish Time: 1:00	Film: Filmfair Water 1:12

of original compositions. As it turned out, Connell says, it took Rapozo less time to write an original then to pick a record in a store.

Here, in the most intuitive of the arts, can be seen perhaps the most striking evidence of how far the CTW fusion of the creative and research has gone. Instead of fearing the researcher, music director Rapozo seeks him out, seeing in the Palmer operation a resource that may help him open new avenues for his imagination and musical intuition. He has recently begun to ask Palmer whether research can be brought to bear on musical questions, as such. For example, he asks: "Is it more valuable to have the educational message on the beat, or on the off-beat? And what portion of the musical phrase is the most salient to a child?

Rapozo's initiative points to a new and largely unexplored dimension in the use of music as an educational tool.

As in the case of the writer, the composer is working in an objectively defined environment. His music has a purpose external to his own creative or emotional needs. Regardless of how brilliant the composition from a musical standpoint, it fails if it defeats the educational purpose or does not succeed in carrying it out. Once the composer understands and accepts this condition of working life, his talent can be fully released.

This new relationship between music and research is additional evidence that it is possible to build a working relationship between the creative and the scientific.

THE PRODUCTION PROCESS

The production process begins with the curriculum coordinator, who builds an assignment sheet from the approved curriculum. This sheet, prepared for the writer, is an outline of the curriculum by categories, showing the amount of time to be devoted to each area, totaling about 35 minutes per program. Each program represents 1/130th of the total curriculum, 130 being the total number of programs. The same coordinator prepares the assignment sheet for both CTW programs. His selection is based on the curriculum decisions already made by the production staff working with the advisors.

The writer has a week to prepare his script. It is the writer's responsibility to organize the entire program, which will be made up of his new material and completed segments. The script goes to the head writer for review and back to the writer for rewrite where indicated.

The next and final stop for review is the producer's desk, from which the approved script goes to the script coordinator for typing and duplication.

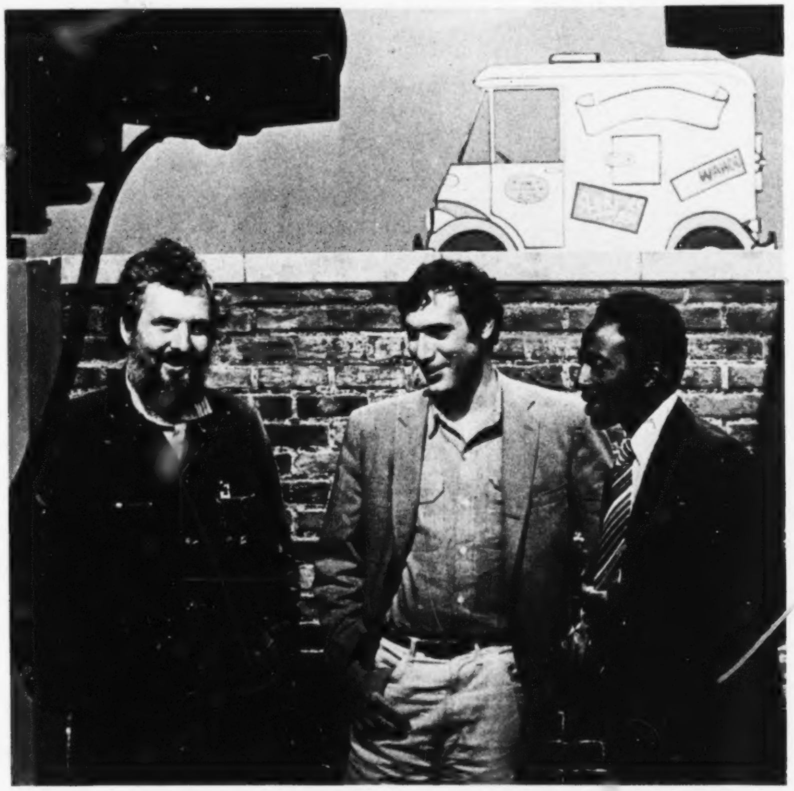
A week later a production meeting is called involving the departments concerned with production: direction, props, sets, graphics, music, costumes, makeup, special effects, sound. A full week's production requirements are reviewed. The meeting is chaired by the director.

A two-week preparation period now ensues. The shows have been broken down into their production components by the production assistants, each program numbered and its needs stated in terms of talent, music, costumes, props, and so forth. It is all put together on the appointed studio day.

All the live segments for a given "Sesame Street" program are shot in the same studio period, except for those featuring the Muppets. Its set is so large, it will not fit in with the other sets, so it is given a separate day. For "The Electric Company," the practice is to work in terms of the available set, with all the week's scenes utilizing a given set produced at the same time.

The newly shot material, together with the existing segments, are delivered to a tape editor and assembled in a tape room.

Each program is given "origination viewing," a carry-over from the fact that so many of the staff are CBS graduates, according to Dave Connell. Someone sits in



a darkroom and watches the program from beginning to end, with script in hand, to make sure that it is all there and that it all works, that the tape is of appropriate quality, and that you don't hear unwanted voices, such as that of a scolding director in the background, which might have escaped notice in the editing room.

A curriculum check has already been made by a studio producer, who reports to the show producer, both of the script and the actual live production.

Throughout the rehearsal and shooting, advisors and researchers watch monitor screens back in the CTW headquarters and phone directly to the producer any observations they care to make about the curriculum aspects of the production in process.

The whole procedure must mesh with material produced outside. This includes animation segments and film sequences shot on location.

The bulk of the film segments is produced by outside companies, about 85 percent, according to associate producer Joan Lufrano. Two procedures are employed: The Workshop may provide the filmmaker with a script to shoot from, or the filmmaker may come in with a proposal which is accepted by the staff. Changes can be made through the workprint stage. After Workshop approval, the material goes back to the film company for final editing, then back to the CTW for quality control screening. If the film does not turn out well it is discarded. Minor changes indicated by research findings are done by the Workshop staff, since once the film is completed the contract has been fulfilled. An example: Research found that a four-minute film teaching the concepts "near" and "far" was too long for the target audience; it was cut in two and shown on separate occasions, with success.

The outside animator may begin with a CTW script or submit his own proposal. He then presents a storyboard which is checked by Joan Lufrano, who is in charge of the animation area, "Sesame Street" producer Jon Stone, and the

Jon Stone, Producer, Jeff Moss, Head Writer, and Lutrelle Horne, Production Director of foreign versions, on the set of "Sesame Street."

curriculum specialist, Sharon Lerner.

Miss Lufrano conveys instructions regarding changes to the animator. The sound portion of the script is then produced. If the recording is done in New York, Miss Lufrano listens to the studio taping session. West Coast companies submit audio tapes for Workshop approval. Finally, the workprint is submitted. Sometimes, the completed print is unsatisfactory, even if the separate storyboard and sound tracks have been acceptable—the segment is then discarded.

At the beginning, before the staff writers began to write animation scripts, animators themselves were given the goal areas and asked to come back with 10 scripts, from which one was chosen. Now, when an animator is new to the assignment, he is given a Workshop script together with the freedom to depart from it at will. Animators who produce satisfactorily and have become familiar with the Workshop goals and standards can proceed to create their own scripts from the goal areas alone. Live-action street scenes, which make up about one-third of the program, are always new. If research is dissatisfied with a street scene completion, little can be done about it from a practical standpoint, owing to the demands of schedule and volume. About 50 percent of the material of the first two years' production has been retired, according to Miss Lufrano. Some of it may be brought back for use in a year or so, if it will still be relevant.

There is a somewhat artificial neatness and precision to the process when it is described. It is certainly working smoothly and effectively today. However, the present level of efficiency, like so many other things now so impressive in the Workshop's operation, had to be achieved through the trial and testing of hard experience.

For example, Lu Horne, who was studio producer during the first two seasons of "Sesame Street," recalls how his early efforts to cover two weeks of script in one production meeting proved unproductive, making a stepdown to a week's volume of script necessary. He tried to set up weekly cast meetings, but personal schedules made this plan unworkable. Only a few of these sessions were actually scheduled through the first season. During that first season, too, the staff produced one program per day, working a 9:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. stretch as a rule. Now production is up to two programs daily, and the studio day is shorter.

EACH PROGRAM HAS INDIVIDUAL REQUIREMENTS

It is a truism that production requirements vary with the character of the program. This is why it would be risky to use "Sesame Street" operational techniques and cost levels as a firm guide. The CTW experience illustrates this clearly. Even the most experienced old hands may confidently project a production timetable only to find in practice that their creative inspirations are slowing down production and inflating the budget. With the experience of "Sesame Street" already there to go on, the CTW staff scheduled 130 half-hour programs of "The Electric Company" for completion within a 24-week production season. On the surface this seemed reasonable in view of the advantage represented in the half-hour length as compared to the hour-length of "Sesame Street." However, "The Electric Company" is more complicated than "Sesame Street." To begin with, it employs elaborate electronic devices, such as wipes and chroma-key effects which permit putting foreground figures into scenes electronically. In addition, there are complications arising out of the variety format and the employment of a star, Bill Cosby, whose schedule is central. He is in the studio two days a week; everything has to be built around that fact. Rita Moreno similarly represents a scheduling need to which production must be adjusted. Moreover, there are eight to ten sets that are used regularly, but the limited size of the studio—one of the largest in New York—means that only two sets can be put up at one time.

Because Cosby is available only two days a week, all of his segments for the week's five programs must be completed in that two-day period. But his presence may be required on more than one set, along with that of the other performers. This

A

B

A CTW researcher observes children watching the show.

B Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollee, Paula Rooks, directing "Sesame Street" follow-up activities at Andrew Jackson High School during Summer, 1971. Paula was part of the "Sesame Street Summer Day Camp" experimental project.

C Vivian Riley of the Utilization Department.

D Lloyd N. Morrisett, President, John and Mary R. Markle Foundation.

E Michael H. Dann, Vice-President, Special Projects.

F Children watching "Sesame Street" in CTW office over closed circuit television.

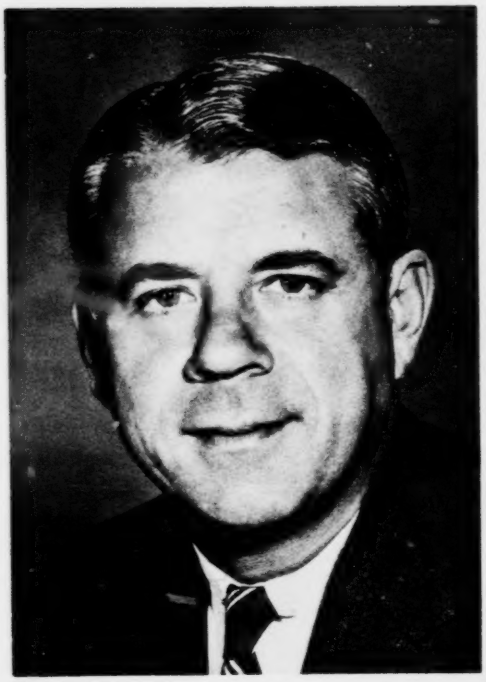
G Training session for Neighborhood Youth Corps workers who later worked in "Sesame Street" summer project.

H Advisors and staff members of the CTW meeting to discuss program elements. They are (from left): Jane O'Connor, Workshop Special Assistant for Curriculum and Research; Executive Director Joan Ganz Cooney; Dorothy Hollingsworth, Deputy Director for Planning of the Seattle (Wash.) Model City Program; Allonia Gadsden, Director of the Emerson School of New York City; and Gwendolyn Peters, Boston Area Utilization Coordinator for the Workshop. Mrs. Hollingsworth and Mrs. Gadsden are members of the Workshop Board of Advisors. The long roll of paper they are holding charts the interest level of young children who have watched test material from "Sesame Street," a research device which aids the producers in fashioning material for age 3 to 5.

I CTW field researcher in Philadelphia TV studio getting children's reactions to "Sesame Street" segments.

C

D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means frequent getting into new costumes and putting on new makeup. In short, a good deal of time is spent in ways that are simply not applicable to "Sesame Street."

THE MONITORING SYSTEM

If specific programming techniques are not always transferable, there are no serious limitations to the transference of the system of production monitoring developed by the CTW so long as its limitations are recognized. This allows for continuous inspection of the rehearsal by curriculum advisors and researchers back in headquarters. The system acts as a curriculum check. A coaxial cable connects studio and headquarters, where the television sets are equipped with receivers on top of them that permit the user to tune in to the studio scene. According to Jon Stone:

> We are doing a bit with the cutout of the letter *B*. Larry Block, one of the actors, had a lowercase *b*. He says: "Lowercase *b* . . . it's a kind of a groovy letter. It's got this straight part here and this nice round part here, and when I look at it, if I were a pirate in the olden days and lost my sword, you know you could use something like this. It looks like a sword, you grab it here." He goes down the stairs like Errol Flynn. There are sound effects in swordplay. He looks at it again and says: "You know what else I can do with it? If I were riding in a subway. . . it looks like one of those things you hang onto in a subway if you have to stand up and don't get a seat." He holds it up over his head. There is a sound effect of a subway door closing. It's a cute bit.
>
> Now, one of the most difficult discriminations that a child has to make when he's learning the lowercase alphabet is the lowercase *b* and *d*. Well, while Larry was playing around with the cutout, the first time he taped it, he inadvertently held it backwards to the camera—just in passing. Once in a while that loop was on the left instead of on the right It slipped by me that first time. Somebody back there caught it and called me, and right away I saw I had done wrong. We retaped the piece and Larry was very careful in all this swordplay and this subway bit. Not for one moment did that loop come off on the left side.

Headquarters' viewers may see any portion of the total monitor output: rehearsal, taping, retakes. A fully edited show is fed back each day at 12:30 P.M. Personnel at One Lincoln Plaza are seldom directly in touch with Stone, preferring to convey their observations in memos from Connell's office. They are concerned with a reputed sensitivity of the "Sesame Street" producer to "interference." Stone will admit the monitoring end's goodwill, but insists he still controls: "They're watching us with the idea of helping us, and we really accept it on those terms. Ultimately, unless we're doing something blatantly wrong, the decision is ours to make on the advice we receive."

Actually, headquarters says there is much less monitoring in reality than the studio people may think is the case. The endless rehearsals make for boring screen material, and the staff has other things to do. Moreover, the number of instances in which direct contact is made with the studio is small, they say.

KEEPING THE LID ON COSTS—FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

At the end of its second year, the Workshop found that it had $85,000 left, unspent, in its budget. This happy situation was not a freak circumstance but the result of an efficient system of financial administration somewhat rare in the nonprofit world.

The title of vice-president, finance and administration, tends to conjure up a forbidding image. The very tangible presence of Thomas Kennedy on the Workshop scene is hard evidence that this image can be more mythical than real. A stocky, vigorous man with a solid 10-year background in CBS, who ran the monetary affairs of the Public Broadcasting Laboratory so efficiently, funds were returned at the end to an astonished and delighted Ford Foundation. His operational philosophy and ability to implement it throughout the complex structure of a dynamic organization that is always in motion are important factors in the continuing viability of the Children's Television Workshop.

In the noncommercial sector, where the discipline of the profit motive is not operative, there may not be any strong pressures operating to encourage adherence to thoroughgoing systems of cost control. In contrast, the importance given financial administration within the CTW rivals that of the most profit-oriented business enterprise. Thomas Kennedy explains why:

> We feel a very strong commitment—that we have a responsibility not just to ask for money that we need, but to generate additional funds and to do the best we can with what we have to keep costs down—not for the sake of keeping them down—but to get maximum value. . . to spend $1.00 and get $1.25 value. Of course, there will always be slippage. You cannot run a large organization without having a few large areas that have to be attended to, and you keep after them. There always will be this. But your intention is to keep those costs under control and to find ways in which to maximize the monies you have whether it is through earning interest in the bank . . publishing a book. . . overseas sales, etc., to earn extra income. . . . What we are doing is taking the load off the people that are putting the money up. We are there mining our assets, seeing how much relief we can bring to the whole thing, rather than going out and shaking the cup. Too many people in the nonprofit areas assume that they can go back to the source and say: "We need more money. If you give it to us, we will do this. If you do not give it to us, we can't do it." There is little motivation for good management practices. We have a very strongly motivated group of people around here. Back to people again—the key is people.

SALARY: MONETARY AND PSYCHIC

Kennedy argues that an enterprise like the Workshop can only succeed if its key staff is drawn from those who are motivated by more than conventional dollar and career considerations. There must be a genuine desire to function in a socially useful manner. At the same time, such individuals have a right to expect financial rewards consistent with their experience and capabilities, insofar as a nonprofit organization is in a position to provide them.

Kennedy insists that CTW salaries must be competitive up to a point with those obtainable in the commercial field, but "*toward the lower end of the competitive scale.*"

In setting up the CTW anticipated salary schedule, Kennedy could draw on an extensive knowledge of comparable schedules at the commercial networks, public broadcasting, and the academic community. These were the key areas with which the Workshop was initially involved. Using their practices as a base he was able to develop guidelines to the salary levels the CTW would have to reach in order to attract desired people to an experiment that might not last more than the period of development and production of the first season's programs.

Keeping the salary level in the lower end of the competitive scale acted to select in advance those successful commercial practitioners who possessed the requisite motivation. It meant that the prospect was prepared to be rewarded by "psychic income" to some degree. How much, of course, depended on the individual case. Generally, experience demonstrated, the higher the position, the more significant the psychic income, and the lower the position, the more important real income. As a result, Kennedy observes, there were those whom the Workshop spoke with who were simply not interested because the dollars were too few. Others found the opportunity to do new and exciting things and to work in a free, creative atmosphere for an important national goal irresistible attractions. They had to be paid in a way that would permit them to continue substantially with their way of living. But in many cases, the move represented a drop in income. Of course, there were others for whom it meant an increase.

Had the Workshop been in a position to compete all the way with commercial television, its key staff might well have been different. The management might have been forced to go this route in any case were there only one person available for each job. There were alternatives, however. Kennedy explains:

> The idea was a commitment—not to get as much done with the dollars as we could, but to get as much quality to establish that a certain kind of a job could be done. Children's television could teach and entertain at the same time and compete with a high quality level with the best of the networks. As long as we could stay within that framework, which meant that high level of personnel, and keep the salaries on the level I was talking about, we were in good shape.

Like every other organization, the CTW is confronted with growth problems, such as the normal pressure for salary increases. The original salaries have moved up, according to the competitive scale. But in the high ranges, according to Kennedy, they are not competitive. The success of "Sesame Street" has brought offers to CTW executives that greatly exceed its ability to compete financially. So far, these offers have been resisted.

Kennedy recently hired a management consulting firm to conduct a study of the networks, the academic community and significant corporations that require talents similar to those required by the CTW. The firm reported that although some areas needed upward adjustment, the Workshop was holding its own with its going salary structure, but that it was on the low side of the competition. It was *marginally competitive*. And that is fine, so far as Kennedy is concerned:

> That's the way I like to view it: That we will be always just marginally competitive so that we can hold good people, attract good people, but look to them to be clinging to us for a commitment to something more than salaries. Commitment is the key. If they are not willing to take the low range of competitive salary, it's questionable whether or not they're making a commitment—it may not be the right kind of person.

FINANCIAL CONTROL NOT AN END IN ITSELF

In order for a system of financial administration to succeed in a creative organization, it is important that the department understand it is not an end in itself, that it is a service operation whose function is to help and support the rest of the organization. Its role is to assist all departments—to exert its maximum efforts within budgetary guidelines that keep them on a solid financial course—and the Workshop as a whole. It is not designed to *restrict* activity or to stand in the way of new undertakings simply because they entail unforeseen expenditures.

BUDGETING AND CONTROLS

Each department head is responsible for developing his own budgetary needs. But he does not work at this alone. A budget specialist from the financial department works with him. Together they review the past year's expenditures and estimate the following year's needs based on anticipated activities. The financial and analysis-planning group maintains a year-round check on the dollar flow through the departments, each one of which is called a budget center. The budget specialist helps the department head with the budget format, makes sure that he has not missed anything and that the proper pricing levels are maintained.

Usually, the first assembled estimates are too high, as the department head sets down his priorities without restrictions. The next time around, priorities are shifted and a new computation is made. Every such priority shift affects the support requirements of administrative, legal, accounting, etc., which must be adjusted accordingly.

The financial department recasts the budget with the new priorities and reviews it with the department head. This is the "screening" period. When the department head is determined to stick to his priority, another go-round may be required.

Usually the review is handled by Tom Kennedy and Joan Cooney. In some instances only Kennedy will be involved.

At that point, the revised department budgets are combined and presented to the board of trustees at their end-of-fiscal-year meeting. Each member receives a copy a month before the meeting. Out of the board review may come priority changes, which are then worked into the Workshop budget. The revised departmental budgets are then given back to the department heads (the funding sources get copies of the overall budget as well). Now the department head knows what his budgetary limits are for the year.

From this point on, a monthly reporting system goes into effect, which is designed to see that each department knows where it is going financially and is able to project budgetary consequences of current and planned activities from month to month. Again, as with everything else in the CTW, this department's system is still evolving as experience leads to procedural refinement. A new reporting system was going into effect at the time of interview.

The department head receives a report from the financial department each month that tells him exactly what he is spending in the current month. It also projects what his department will be spending if it continues on its current cost levels. The projections are made by the financial analyst responsible for the given budget center. It is his responsibility to maintain a constant dialog with the department head, to visit him at least twice a month in order to keep abreast of changes in direction.

THE NEED FOR BUDGETARY FLEXIBILITY

Such a relationship between budget specialist and department head will work only if management and the financial representative maintain a flexible attitude toward operational needs. Kennedy argues strongly against reliance on a fixed budget, on the grounds that it is out of harmony with a dynamic, changing organization like the Children's Television Workshop. Budgetary rigidity can lead to organizational and operational rigidity, he maintains, and effectively, then, death:

> Something will always come up in every department in any organization, particularly an organization like this, because so much of it is new and innovative that could not be fixed and planned. . . . I urge that a fixed budget does not become a

Summary of budget for Children's
Television Workshop
Fiscal Year 1969 through
Fiscal Year 1972
(DOLLARS IN THOUSANDS)

	1968/1969 SEASON START UP		1969/1970 SEASON (130 SESAME STREET SHOWS)		
	ACTUAL COST	% OF ACTUAL	ACTUAL COST	COST PER SHOW	% OF ACTUAL
DIRECT AND INDIRECT BROADCAST COST	$ 974.9	57.2%	$3,626.4	$ 27.9	66.5%
RESEARCH AND EVALUATION	176.3	10.3%	429.3	3.3	7.9%
BROADCAST COSTS	$1,151.2	67.5%	$4,055.7	$ 31.2	74.4%
ELECTRIC COMPANY RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT	--	--	--		--
COMMUNITY RELATIONS	70.5	4.2%	592.1		10.9%
PUBLIC INFORMATION	99.7	5.8%	290.7		5.3%
CORPORATE SERVICES	383.4	22.5%	509.9		9.4%
BUDGETARY RESERVE	--	--	--		--
TOTAL BROADCAST DIVISION	$1,704.8	100.0%	$5,448.4		100.0%

1970/1971 SEASON (145 SESAME STREET SHOWS)			1971/1972 SEASON		130 SESAME STREET SHOWS		130 ELECTRIC COMPANY SHOWS	
ACTUAL COST	COST PER SHOW	% OF ACTUAL	TOTAL BUDGET	% OF BUDGET	BUDGET	COST PER SHOW	BUDGET	COST PER SHOW
$3,863.8	$ 26.6	57.4%	$9,790.5	71.2%	$4,012.7	$ 30.9	$5,777.8	$ 44.4
437.2	3.0	6.5%	861.4	6.3%	245.1	1.9	616.3	4.7
$4,301.0	$ 29.6	63.5%	$10,651.9	77.5%	$4,257.8	$ 32.8	$6,394.1	$ 49.1
884.7		13.1%	--	--	--		--	
672.1		9.9%	1,080.4	7.9%	540.2		540.2	
343.9		5.1%	515.0	3.7%	210.1		304.9	
567.2		8.4%	1,252.7	9.1%	511.0		741.7	
--		--	250.0	1.8%	150.0		100.0	
$6,768.9		100.0%	$13,750.0	100.0%	$5,669.1		$8,080.9	

> bible that everybody must address himself to. Priorities must shift or you will have a rigid organization that will die.
>
> For example, you decide you will only have two people in the mailroom, and suddenly the demands require five people. But you do not add those extra three and suddenly the whole organization becomes stagnated because it can't leaf through a mailroom operation, and it becomes a ridiculous thing.
>
> Priorities have to change—that is a very simple and elementary statement. But there are situations in which people become so rigid with their budgets that their whole organization becomes stagnated. For this reason, it must be flexible. In our organization, even more so, because it is a creative organization and we must be responsible for new ideas. . . ideas that don't work, ideas that sounded good in the planning stage but are just not working out. . . but it seems that the end solution is in sight or that more money ought to be poured into it so that it can go another step, such as in research or a program change. . . and it still may not work. . . .

Since the budget is finite, if not fixed, a change in direction usually means that the additional funds must come from elsewhere in the operation. Kennedy stresses the importance of knowing the impact of each decision to go ahead, for you must say no to something else if you are to "maintain the bottom line." But even the bottom line is not sacrosanct,

> . . . if you want to head off into another direction, another level of operation, and the funds are available. There is no reason we cannot come across something that needs doing that we have not thought of before and turn around to somebody and say, "Would you give us the funds to do that?" And then they are available—now you have another item.
>
> It is management by management—complete flexibility, not in a chaotic way, but in a very organized and orderly fashion.

NEED FOR CONSCIOUS MANAGEMENT EFFORT

It is easier, Kennedy believes, to introduce such a system into a new, than an existing organization. Often, the department head in the established company will feel that the purpose of the reporting system is to check on him, rather than help him. He will resent and fight it. In the new organization, the addition of a system is somewhat easier, since there tends to be readier acceptance of a new organizational component. The CTW reporting system does appear to enjoy general acceptance. Ultimately, management must give some "muscle" to it, yet have the right attitude —meaning it must not expect to make a system work overnight. It has to be pursued aggressively.

Human relationships are what is really involved. It makes a difference whether the department head feels someone is looking over his shoulder for the purpose of catching him in error, or is truly trying to help him and make his job easier. This puts the initiative in the financial department. The budget specialist has to learn to be diplomatic and helpful, to take into account the normal fears of people who do not think in financial terms. Kennedy would like his people to demonstrate to the others that they are trying to be helpful by going out of their way occasionally to find out what kind of information can be provided on a regular basis that might be used to improve the operation.

If the budget specialist can supply routine reports that present the information in a form which makes it simple to look at, so that the user knows exactly where he is, he begins to use it and look for it, Kennedy maintains. He begins to realize that he cannot have the report if he does not "feed into it," because in that case it is useless.

Excerpt from
"Children's Television Workshop Actual Expenditures vs. Budget For the Twelve Months Ending June 26, 1971"

CHILDREN'S TELEVISION WORKSHOP
ANALYSIS OF BROADCAST EXPENSES - SESAME STREET
FOR THE 12 MONTHS ENDED JUNE 26, 1971
(Dollars in Thousands)

	Fiscal Year Ending June 26, 1971		
Direct Expenses	Year To Date Actual	Budget	Actual Better/(Worse) Than Budget
Broadcast Expenses:			
Production Charges	$ 1,419.7	$ 1,395.1	$ (24.6)
Broadcast Charges	844.7	771.9	(72.8)
Segment Inventory	762.1	487.0	(275.1)
Total Broadcast Expenses	$ 3,026.5	$ 2,654.0	$ (372.5)
Production Departments:			
Studio Production	$ 148.3	$ 153.0	$ 4.7
Writing & Casting	224.9	140.7	(84.2)
Live Action Film	40.3	60.9	20.6
Graphics	22.9	-	(22.9)
Total Production Departments	$ 436.4	$ 354.6	$ (81.8)
Other Direct Expenses:			
Mid Season Reevaluation	$ -	$ 150.0	$ 150.0
Research & Audition Costs	62.5	75.0	12.5
Re-run & Talent Costs	26.8	78.0	51.2
Pre Season Promotion	-	25.0	25.0
Direct Program Overhead	311.6	253.8	(57.8)
Total Other Direct Expenses	$ 400.9	$ 581.8	$ 180.9
Total Direct Broadcast Expenses	$ 3,863.8	$ 3,590.4	$ (273.4)
Indirect Broadcast Expenses:			
Research & Evaluation	$ 437.2	$ 381.9	$ (55.3)
Community Relations	672.1	687.5	15.4
Total Indirect Expenses	$ 1,109.3	$ 1,069.4	$ (39.9)
Share of Corporate Overhead - See Pg. 7	$ 911.1	$ 935.9	$ 24.8
Total Sesame Street Expenses	$ 5,884.2	$ 5,595.7	$ (288.5)

On the other hand, once the financial department begins to use the reports as clubs or "white papers," the system falls apart:

> It has to be a good healthy relationship between all the parties, who must feel that the financial operation is there to help, support, service, to find new ways to give information and exchange it with the whole organization so that everyone benefits. It means that the accountant has to be a bit of a salesman himself to make sure he is not acting like a policeman, but like a service organization. He must explain this. And to maintain credibility, he must avoid playing games. When you accept something off-the-record, you have to treat it as such if you want people to level with you. If it is something important and cannot be treated off-the-record, they should say, "Look, I can't sit on this one, but can you be the one to make it known before I report it?" You can work good relationships that are open and straight, with none of this business of "Let's see how fast I can get the report out and how fast I can embarrass him." That kind of an attitude will destroy the reporting system, which so often happens in large companies.

Note the similarity of the Kennedy view of the diplomatic mission of representatives of the financial department and the Palmer insistence that his researchers be diplomats and build a constructive relationship with the staffs of the other departments.

OPERATIONS CONTROL

The most difficult area to keep on a stable financial course, and the one with the greatest potential for budgetary mischief, is program production. In the major centers, production entails a complicated maze of studios, talent, technicians, film and tape, props, sets, costumes, music, script, contracts, agents, lawyers—and unions. To attempt to navigate this maze without expert legal and financial pilots, quick to spot the myriad shoals and steer around them, is to invite financial disaster.

At the CTW, financial supervision of production is exercised through the operations department, headed by Ronald Weaver, who reports to Thomas Kennedy, financial vice-president. The operations department is responsible for spending the show's production budgets. A production supervisor representing the department is physically at the studio each day of production to see that expenditures are made and incurred as committed and to spot changes that might cause budget difficulty. The Workshop has a basic contract with the studio—Teletape—which calls for a payment by the week for a specified amount of weekly time.

There are many additional expenditures that are incurred as the production process makes them necessary. Additional video tape machine time, for example, may be called for, necessitating an overtime cost, in order to complete that day's work. It would be up to the production supervisor to authorize the overtime.

Such practices are considered normal and the budget is set up to anticipate a certain amount of discretionary spending arising from the unpredictable nature of some of the production process. This is done within a framework of production-financial relationships which begin with the program values and decisions of the program producer, who is expected to make the determination whether the additional expenditure is justified. The function of the production supervisor is to let the producer know how much of his budget he is going to spend if he incurs the new cost. The producer still makes the final decision, but he does so aware of the budgetary consequences. This process acts to temper tendencies to spend on a wasteful scale, for the producer understands that, regardless of his wishes or creative urgings, there are limits. At the same time, the system must allow him to make the decision to overspend in a given instance if, in his best judgment, that is essential to achieve the quality all are seeking.

Generally, the normal condition of production sees a certain amount of tension between producer and financial control. It arises quite naturally from two thoroughly understandable but divergent drives. The first is that of the dedicated creative man who sees in the program he is fashioning the thing that the organization is all about, its sustaining and life-giving element, which therefore entitles it to all of the monetary support he thinks it requires. The second is that of the equally dedicated dollar-minded man whose responsibility is to see that the enterprise doesn't founder because of an inability or unwillingness to operate with the future, as well as the present, in mind. The producer, impatient with the efforts of the financial department to restrain his enthusiasms, would like to think that financially there is, in fact, a "bottomless pit," because, regardless of what admonitions he may be exposed to, he knows that programming comes first—the money will come from somewhere! So there is constant dialog between the two departments. This is healthy, and to be expected, so long as it does not reach the stage of impasse. At the Workshop, the give-and-take condition seems to exist and is proving workable.

During the first year of "Sesame Street," the production group decided it would be useful to screen the previous day's edited version during the lunch hour. This would make it possible for the cast to see what they had done. The long studio hours left the performers little opportunity to see the programs. It seemed simple enough from the program point of view, since all that was involved was putting the tape on a video tape machine, turning it on, and going into the screening room. From the standpoint of the production supervisor, it was not quite that simple.

Once the decision to screen was made, the production supervisor would have to ask Teletape to set up a daily screening schedule. However, this simple undertaking would mean changes in the tape room crew's working schedule; incurring lunchtime penalties as stipulated by their union contract. Moreover, it would alter the production taping schedule, since the crew would have to "break" a little earlier in order to "set up" for the screening. This would mean a direct loss of costly machine editing time. When Weaver's department estimated the real cost of the contemplated screening, they found it to be a rather sobering $20,000!

Together, production and operations concluded that this was clearly too costly. At the same time, they agreed that it would be useful for the cast to be able to see their performances at this stage of the project's development. Their decision was to conduct the screening for a period of two to three weeks instead of through the season. Weaver observes that if it had been concluded that the screenings were vital to production, operations would have agreed but would have pointed out that the $20,000 would have had to be made up in some other way:

> In other words, it's a matter of making the choices as we go along. As long as it's within the budget, I would defer to the production point of view, if it seemed reasonable. The production people here have been in business for a long time. They know what they want, and they generally know how to get it. There really haven't been unreasonable kinds of things that I've had absolutely to say no to. I would, if I had to. That would probably be my decision, backed up by management.

During the period of the interview, Weaver was grappling with a problem that typifies the life of operations control. "The Electric Company" employs elaborate electronic devices, such as "wipes," for transition from one screen image to another. These were not being produced as quickly as anticipated by the machinery on 44th Street, leading to budget overages very early in the production schedule. If continued, these overages could mount to a substantial sum before long. The solution, as Weaver saw it, was to get the writers to use fewer of the fancy wipes in their scripts. You do this by going to the producer and saying:

> "Look, this is very inefficient, it's costing more than it seems to be worth. Is this really the way you want to spend your money?" If he says yes, then it's a matter of where does that money come from? The budget frame has to be lived with. If it seems that in many areas we are going very far over budget, then I have to sit down with the production people and figure out how we're going to make it work.

In the preceding year there was a problem with "Sesame Street" sets. The designer was creating complicated sets for the Muppets which entailed far higher expenditures than allowed for in the budget. Weaver let the designer and producer know they didn't have "this kind of money" for sets and bluntly asked whether they were really needed. He went to the head writer, whose opinion was that the segments could be readily done in "limbo," with minimal sets. It was the set designer who saw it differently. Finally Weaver convinced the producer and designer that the sets were too costly. They agreed to rely on sets and pieces already built and to redesign and repaint where necessary.

As a result, the set budget went down dramatically according to Weaver, and while the CTW still went over budget in that category, the overage was kept within bounds.

Weaver sums up the relationship and management responsibility:

> The operations department, I think, should serve, not as a policeman who blows the whistle and says you can't do that, because whatever monetary decision I would make would directly affect the result of what ends up on the tape and the production of the show. That isn't my responsibility. What ends up on tape should be the responsibility of the producer. If he says "I have to spend that money," then I will have to go to management and say, "Production needs to spend that money. Do we have it? Could we make it available, or how do we handle it?" A management decision will then have to be made by the vice-president and administration as to how we are going to accomplish this–if this is the only way it can be done.

So far, this has not occurred, says Weaver. It has apparently proved possible for operations and production to find common ground when the issues have arisen.

Assuming that the producer has decided to incur the new studio expenditure, the production supervisor writes a purchase order for the additional money, or for anything spent in addition to those contracted for. At the end of the week, all the week's purchase orders are given to operations control, where they are logged under their respective budget codes. The department publishes a weekly report–sometimes several–for each series. These reports contain *all* of the costs that go beyond that contained in the original studio contract. A good portion will consist of committed costs incurred after the production planning meeting, as well as those that come up during actual production. For example, because of the way a script is written, the producer may wish to order a crane. The production supervisor will place the order, either through the studio or with the supplier, preparing a purchase order for the purpose.

The purchase orders are turned over to Weaver's assistant, Robert Dahl, who only recently was given the responsibility, and to the bookkeeper. The bookkeeper maintains logs of all the purchase orders and the invoice amounts, and is thus able to keep continuous check. Each week Weaver and Dahl meet to review the figures. They project how they should be spending for the whole production season and then compare that projection with actual expenditures for the preceding week to see how the overall budget is being affected. The following example cited by Ronald Weaver illustrates the character of the process:

> We project that on "Sesame Street" we'll spend $1,800 a week for Muppet sets and $1,000 a week for additional sets. That's $2,800 a week for sets which the designer orders from outside. Let's say that last week we spent $4,000 on sets. Then either I or Bob Dahl will call up the set designer and say, "What did you spend $4,000 on last week?" Or, "Are you going to be able to make that up somehow?" Or "Where or how are we going to juggle the set budget around?" In other words, the budget is arbitrary. It's an estimate to the best of our ability of what we're going to be required to spend. On the set budget I budgeted $15,000 to refurbish the "Sesame Street" set, because at one point we were planning on redoing the pet shop—making something else of it. As it turned out, we're not doing that, so there's $15,000 there that's not being used for that. So that's a little contingency fund that can mean we can go over in certain other areas. . . . Every week, based on what the performance in all of these areas is that week, we try to project into the rest of the season.

For his needs, Weaver breaks down the CTW budget into an operational budget, which is somewhat different. This consists of the allotted amount for the entire span of preproduction and production in that area, exclusive of staff costs, such as studio production, film segments, editing needs, etc. There are two parts: The basic expenditures that can be estimated directly in weekly form, such as studio time, staff and facilities for which commitments can be made on a weekly basis; and those items which are not attributable to individual weeks, and therefore fall into what he terms the "broadcast allocation area."

Staying with the example of set costs, Weaver explains why a concept like the broadcast allocation area is necessary, as he describes the budget for "The Electric Company":

> The kind of expenses that could be accounted for on a weekly basis are on one report, with an explanation of overages. Then there's what we call the "broadcast allocation area." This is a method of keeping track of things that are production costs, but which can't be kept track of strictly on a weekly basis. For instance, sets. You will spend half of your set budget before you get into production, building your main set. Then you have a lot of little things as you go along. Small sets that you add. So you really can't account for sets on a weekly basis, because it would be misleading. But we keep track of that in our own books on a weekly basis. This means that I can look and see that we spent, say $5,000 on sets, and then project it with what's left. Now, we should be spending, say at the rate of $1,000 a week. If we are consistently spending $2,000 a week, then we project an overage at the end of the season in an area.

This system of comparing actual weekly expenditures and projections based on those expenditures with the given budget, provides each department with a running, weekly report of overages or underages.

Another way to look at the system is as a red-flag mechanism which can help management spot potential financial problems in any area far enough in advance to make steps in a constructive and rational manner, rather than in response to a

Excerpt from Responsibility Report for Vice President of Research.

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RESPONSIBILITY OF
VICE PRESIDENT RESEARCH

CHILDREN'S TELEVISION WORKSHOP

SUMMARY COST CENTER:
RESEARCH

Responsibility Report
Month Year

CURRENT MONTH		YEAR-TO-DATE			PROJECTION	
Actual	Variance From Budget under (over)	Actual	Variance From Budget under (over)		Revised Estimate For Year	Variance From Annual Budget under (over)
				Office of Vice President		
				Payroll		
				Travel & Living		
				Communications		
				Services - Outside		
				Total		
				Allocations		
				Net		
				Research - Sesame Street		
				Payroll		
				Travel & Living		
				Communications		
				Services - Outside		
				Total		
				Allocations		
				Net		
				Research - Electric Company		
				Payroll		
				Travel & Living		
				Communications		
				Services - Outside		
				Total		
				Allocations		
				Net		
				Research - Field Survey		
				Payroll		
				Travel & Living		
				Communications		
				Services - Outside		
				Total		
				Allocations		
				Net		

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RESPONSIBILITY OF:
VICE PRESIDENT RESEARCH

CHILDREN'S TELEVISION WORKSHOP

Responsibility Report

Month Year

SUMMARY COST CENTER:
RESEARCH

CURRENT MONTH		YEAR-TO-DATE			PROJECTION	
Actual	Variance From Budget under (over	Actual	Variance From Budget under (over)		Revised Estimate For Year	Variance From Annual Budget under (over)
				Research - Non-Broadcast		
				Payroll		
				Travel & Living		
				Communications		
				Services - Outside		
				Total		
				Allocations		
				Net		
				Research - Special Projects		
				Payroll		
				Travel & Living		
				Communications		
				Services - Outside		
				Total		
				Allocations		
				Net		
				Total Cost Centers Expenses		
				Total Allocations		
				Net Summary Cost Center Expense		

sudden monetary panic. It also permits an operational flexibility that is geared to achievement rather than to dollar savings as an end in itself with no relation to creative needs.

CUTTING COSTS BY SPENDING

Weaver recalls that the funding during the first two years was sufficient for all production purposes. In part this was related to reluctance of the operations department to spend any more for materials and services than it had to. This department was not certain that there would be a sufficient level of income. During the first year, in particular, he says, he paid minimum sums for most things. The program had not yet reached the air. There was, as yet, no record of success. Many people wanted to be associated with it, and the CTW benefited by their willingness to accept less than they could get in the commercial world. The economics of the first year were further helped by the competition between the two studio competitors, Reeves and Teletape. Bidding began at $54,000 a week. Teletape finally won the contract at $34,500. The difference was approximately $20,000 a week, for 26 production weeks.

Things have changed somewhat since "Sesame Street" has achieved national stature. Now that the CTW is issuing records, books and toys for purchase by the public, it is a little more difficult to plead poverty, although essentially the financial condition of the Workshop is the same as it has been. The appearance of success acts to put relationships with services and suppliers on a more conventional market basis than was originally the case.

Spurred on by the urgent need to get maximum value for every dollar spent, the Workshop finds itself prepared to increase an individual expenditure substantially in order to achieve increased efficiency and thus a reduction in actual spending. Weaver cites an example.

The first year, the director, who had daily serial experience, was paid $750 a week. Under his supervision, production volume per day was a show and a half. This usually meant running overtime to 6:00 or 7:00 P.M., when the schedule called for an end to the workday of 5:00 P.M., and entailed overtime charges. When the producing group decided to make a change in the direction of a "dynamo" who could direct the efforts of the 40-or-so people in the studio with greater efficiency, another man, Robert Myhrum, also a soap opera director, was approached. His condition for joining was that the Workshop purchase the total directional services for "Sesame Street" from his company. He himself would direct two days a week and would provide other directors for the remaining days. Instead of paying a weekly salary for a director, the Workshop would pay a stipulated fee of $300 per program.

Myhrum succeeded in improving both efficiency and quality, according to Weaver. From a volume of one and a half, production jumped to two programs a day. Furthermore, instead of paying overtime penalties, the Workshop saved by ending the workday at 4:30 P.M. This volume increase permitted cutting down the length of the production season, leading to a significant savings. It also permitted the production of more programs in the same period.

In its second season, the CTW completed 145 programs in 22 weeks of production, compared with 126 shows in 26 weeks during the first year. Total savings amounted to $360,000. This in the face of an increase in the weekly directorial cost of approximately $1100. "Sesame Street" production is now running so smoothly that Weaver expects the staff to be able to complete 130 shows in 17 weeks during the 1971-72 production season that began in September.

It often makes sense, then, to pay above the minimum union scale, in order to benefit from the extra attention, energy and dedication that characterize the best in each category. This is the case with the production's stage manager and the prop man, for example, both of whom can be relied on without question to come up with the best and most efficient solutions. Says Weaver: "What we learned, I think, is that you hire the best people around and pay them a little more. But it's going to save you money in the long run."

SUBCONTRACTING FOR SERVICES AND EQUIPMENT

For the nonprofit institution, in particular, it makes sense to operate on the basis of the minimum level of fixed costs for staff and facilities and to enter into contracts with outside companies for services. It thus avoids heavy capital outlays for studios and equipment, along with continuing maintenance costs, and long-range major staff commitments that limit flexibility while building overhead. There conceivably could come a time when it would make economic sense for the CTW to own and operate its own studio. It would have to be assured, however, that it would be producing a sufficient number of programs to keep staff and facilities productively employed for the full working year. Otherwise, it would find itself competing in the market for production business along with others, subject to the vagaries of an uncertain, highly volatile industry.

By contracting for facilities and service, not only does the Workshop avoid this problem, it also does not have to undertake to meet the panoply of stringent union requirements that mark the television and film life of the major centers. These requirements have been developed under commercial conditions as the unions have sought to increase employment opportunities for their members and to establish meaningful salary scales in a high-risk industry. While the unions can make an effort to accommodate and work with a nonprofit institution in order to allow it to function, they cannot be expected to abandon the standards they have so painfully established. In some cases, as with the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, or AFTRA, special educational scales have been created. The CTW has a contract with AFTRA. For the most part, however, the educational producer can meet his union requirements by subcontracting through a commercial company that already has union agreements.

The actual fee paid the employee remains the same in either case. The educational institution, however, is not committed to continuing costs during the non-production period. In addition, it does not have to incur costs of additional crew members, required by union contract, in its own staffing. Thus, in the case of the CTW, the only production people actually on the payroll are the set designer, the scenic artist, the costume designer, the graphic artist and the illustrator for "Sesame Street." Directorial services for "Sesame Street" are supplied through Barnabas Enterprise. For "The Electric Company," the Workshop turns to Starbridge, Inc., which provides directors, associate directors and stage managers, all of whom belong to the Directors Guild of America. The CTW itself does not have a contract with the Guild.

Studio, technical services and staff are provided by Teletape, whose plant on Broadway and 81st Street is the scene of "Sesame Street" production. There are 15 technicians on each show and a complement of six basic stagehands for each studio. About eight additional stagehands are hired each day. Five video tape machines are part of the basic package. Three are used for editing all day and two for recording all day long. The tape editors come through Teletape as well. Teletape also provides the lighting director and the sound effects man—they are selected by the Workshop.

The subcontracting arrangement for "The Electric Company" is even more complicated. Metromedia's Channel 5 studio and facilities are used. But the contract is made with Teletape, which, in turn, subcontracts the cameras in the studio, the camera control units and slide chains, as well as the studio. Recording and editing are done at Teletape's Post Production Center at 44th Street. That installation is connected by lines to the Metromedia studio across town. This arrangement was entered into in order to lodge production responsibility in a production company for the total technical aspect, on the theory that this would probably be preferable to relying solely on a station or network which had other programming responsibilities of its own.

The question of whether to hire a person directly or through a company is never finally resolved, owing to changing conditions. It may be, for example, that when the economics are analyzed, it will make sense to put a particular individual on staff. This occurred in the case of the graphic artist, originally supplied by Teletape, which also was responsible for artists' supplies. Now she and the set services and supplies are a direct Workshop expense, and proving less costly as a whole than when subcontracted. In short, there are no universal rules here. Each case of staff or services requires separate analysis to see what relationship makes the most sense, given union scales, the institution's financial situation and the individual's capability and availability.

OPERATIONS STAFF

There are 15 people in the operations department, which is divided into "cost control" and "film." Weaver's assistant is in charge of the cost control area. Reporting to the assistant is a video tape librarian who is in charge of the entire video tape inventory for both programs and international programs and materials. There is one production supervisor each for "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company." The manager of film operations supervises the work of three film editors, an assistant film editor and a film librarian.

The film section handles the output of the outside film companies. They decide whether the materials and prints are technically acceptable, revising where necessary, and assemble them so they can be transferred to video tape. In their free time, after these basics are taken care of, they shoot films of their own for the CTW. Sometimes, instead of subcontracting a film, the CTW will hire a camera crew under the supervision of one of the editors, who then functions as a producer-director. The team will shoot footage on an assigned subject, then return to cut it, add sound and make a complete film. The preceding spring, one of the editors had gone on an African safari with a New York cameraman experienced in such shooting. She returned with thousands of feet of film on animals. During the course of the year she was spending her spare time putting the material together.

STAFF VERSUS FREELANCE

For all of the importance of production—it is, after all, the heart of the CTW—the in-house staff is surprisingly small. Perhaps over 100 individuals are involved in producing "Sesame Street" but only about 30 are CTW staff members. There are two major reasons:

1. Only certain functions, like producing and writing, as examples, call for year-round employment.
2. In many of the skills required the salary levels of those talents desired are far too high for the CTW financial capability; the most successful talents often tend to prefer the free-lance existence, because they can earn considerably more than they can on staff.

In the film area, for example, the CTW preference from the beginning has been not to build a large in-house department to produce films. Such a department, CTW executives are convinced, could not attract the most creative talents. As Weaver puts it:

> We want people who are doing the best things in the business to be doing things for us. Take John Jubley, for instance. He is an excellent animator. There is no way we can get him to work on our staff. We couldn't pay him enough first of all. Most of the film companies that we deal with do things for us at lower rates than they would commercially. You constantly have to plead poverty with them and tell them you

> can't pay them what they're used to getting. But they have enough commercial jobs that pay them the kind of money they need. Couple this with the fact that they like to do things for us. Therefore, you can get the best people around to do really good things for you, whereas an in-house staff can get very unwieldly.

An in-house staff is useful for other reasons. Editors are needed who can put the film material in order for tape transfer. That is the CTW staff nucleus in this area. Individuals are needed to handle the logistics of getting the material "in and out of the house," and stored in the right places, seeing that the right prints get made, making sure there are inter-negatives and that the right sound tracks are there for foreign versions.

The manager of the film section is responsible for the budgets of the subcontracted film productions. The film companies are selected by the producer on the basis of prepared guidelines. The present cost level for the CTW is approximately $3,000 to $5,000 a minute for animation and $1,000 to $1,500 for live-action films. The producer will send the budget to the film manager for line-by-line review to see whether it meets the CTW cost guidelines. The film manager, Ray Finke, approves the film budget from an operational point of view. The producer approves it from a program point of view.

As "Sesame Street" crossed the country's borders, the film department found itself busy with the logistical and editing requirements of an international distribution. The editors receive 'M' and 'E' (music and effects) tracks designed for the international market, match them up with the visuals, and arrange for prints to be made for dubbing in Mexico City, which has become a major dubbing center.

Even though the film editors often function as producers, or as creative staff, administratively and operationally they are under the control of the operations department, since it is the mechanical side that remains their fundamental responsibility, Weaver explains. He notes that the pattern is found in most of the larger companies. Someone has to schedule everyone's time and coordinate their efforts as a unit.

LEGAL NEEDS

The complications of contracts, talent relationships, unions, program rights and foreign distribution call for continuing legal assistance. Now the CTW has a three-man legal department. At the beginning legal services were supplied by NET, under which the Workshop functioned as a separate division.

When production alone is involved, the conventional legal requirements call for proper contract between production company, if one is used, and project operator; agreement on talent scales with the appropriate unions (in the case of the CTW there is a contract with AFTRA); and signed releases from persons appearing in programs. As progress is made, additional legal effort may be called for. A popular program may generate requests for rights to songs, script, other program materials. Overseas sales involve new agreements with organizations in other countries and possible changes in rerun fee relations with the original talent. An increase in production volume through the addition of new series multiplies these needs, as in the Workshop case: There are two series and considerable international activity. All involve staff and outside contractual relationships that require legal surveillance.

The addition of the nonbroadcast materials division has introduced new legal complications. Now agreements have to be worked out covering publications, records and toys, with associated rights.

The CTW, as a nonprofit corporation, required legal assistance in determining the relationships of the various organizational elements, such as board, chairman and president. It had to be set up in conformity with the laws of New York State.

KEEPING THE LID ON COSTS—FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

To enter upon a program venture without qualified legal guidance is to ask for trouble. In most instances where single productions are the question rather than an original organization geared for major-scale activity, legal services purchased on the outside as needed or provided by an existing parent organization should suffice. Whether full-time legal assistance on a staff basis is advisable is a question of workload and the intensity and frequency of day-to-day relations between the legal department and other departments and management.

Big Bird greets three young residents.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE IMPORTANCE OF AUDIENCE PROMOTION

It is only recently that the importance of promotion has come to be understood in noncommercial television. Traditionally, funding sources have tended to limit their contributions to the development of program content, assuming that the program would somehow find its way to the audience. As noncommercial broadcasters themselves came to understand that they might forever languish in the shadow area of accidental viewing unless they mounted campaigns directed toward building audiences, they began to intensify their efforts to obtain funds from their financial backers for this purpose. Now, increasingly, grantors are beginning to show a willingness to allocate specific funds for promotion, in addition to those earmarked for program production. The spectacular promotional achievement of the Children's Television Workshop solidly confirms the soundness of this approach. It demonstrates conclusively that *promotion merits positioning as a basic project element, calling for planning and implementation parallel with program development, as the other side of the coin.* It calls, too, for an operational *professionalism* that corresponds in its area with the professionalism demanded in programming. These are the two promotion features of the CTW model that, from the standpoint of this report, are mandatory for any broadcast-educational undertaking.

THE OBSTACLES TO ALERTING THE AUDIENCE

When the Workshop management surveyed the public television scene, they quickly concluded that a massive promotion campaign was indicated if the bulk of the target audience was to be reached. To begin with, they were contending with the general low audience level of the medium. While viewership has evidently been going up in recent years, it is still small when compared to commercial levels. They could count on the noncommercial system to use its own air to promote, but the other media were essential for mass impact. There was the UHF problem, as well, for the system contains more UHF than VHF stations.

From the particular standpoint of reaching the disadvantaged groups, the white middle-class orientation of public television in general presented difficulties. Up to the time of "Soul" and "Black Journal" there had been little directed to the black audience as such, for example. The medium, therefore, had not been looked on as its own by that minority and the Spanish-speaking segment. In short, the CTW faced the problem of attracting a significant portion of its target audience to stations which that audience presumably tended not to watch.

HIGH PRIORITY FOR PROMOTION

Recognizing that a major-league promotion effort would be required, Joan Cooney made the basic organizational decision to establish the function as an equal partner with production, research and administration (at the beginning, administration was left out of the formal organization chart because the function was to be attached to NET which was to serve as the corporate umbrella.) Furthermore, the campaign to build the audience would begin long in advance of air date. There were several levels of the society that had to be informed. It was evident that a fully professional operation had to be created capable of performing effectively on a national scale.

The plan called for a strong executive on the vice-presidential level, and a follow-through force to do the legwork contact with press and organizations and to create communications materials for distribution through the mails or in person. CTW entered into an arrangement with a New York public relations firm, Carl Byoir and Associates, Inc. which incorporates both aspects. Carl Byoir executive Robert Hatch functions as the "in-house" CTW vice-president in charge of information. Operationally he is considered a staff person on the same footing with the others. His salary, however, comes from the Byoir company, together with the salary of his assistant, Jay Levine.

Hatch explains the reasoning behind his full-time, in-house position:

> Public relations is unlike advertising. It has problems that

> crop up in a minute that are either solved or mushroom out of proportion in a minute. They can't be handled by visiting the client twice a week or by occasional talks over the phone.

At the same time, there is frequent need for public relations assistance that calls for additional manpower. Then the other part of the arrangement becomes operative.

> You have one guy, and then one morning you suddenly have a job that requires ten guys. The advantage in having a public relations agency is that they have people who are trained and briefed, professionals who know the parts of the media and the various publics. They are available when you need them on a per diem rate. When you don't need them they are not on your payroll, but when you do need them they are there, and they are there right now, on an instant basis. You also have a backlog of consulting help to approach certain problems which you might not otherwise be able to put together in terms of your budget—you may not be able to hire that high a level of practitioner or that many people to work with you. It's like having an instant board of advisors, as well as instant field troops when you need them.

Such an arrangement is not unusual in industry, where you find executives operating within a client's firm as part of a management consultant's plan for organizational change or development. According to Hatch there is no question of temporariness involved, the arrangement being considered permanent so long as it works well:

> I am an employee of Carl Byoir. That does not change. I am here on assignment as a professional and on an indefinite basis. As long as something like this works well and the client is satisfied, it can go on forever. In some cases, with some of our clients, it has gone on for 15 to 20 years, to the point where the individual, and the people around him that he works for, forget that his paycheck comes from another source.

Since the interview, Hatch has joined the CTW as a vice-president.

A similar combination of forces can be achieved by having an executive and staff on the client payroll and an arrangement with a public relations firm to assist in planning and implementation. The important points, regardless of the specific staff-and-contract arrangements, are: (1) the priority position that the information function should enjoy; (2) the professionalism required in planning and execution; (3) the availability of sufficient manpower to implement on the various national and local levels called for by a countrywide campaign.

COSTS

Hatch estimates that the information program during the first year and a half took about 7½ percent of the budget, most of it going for printing, photography and the salaries of individuals hired by some of the stations as part of the original grant received for utilization experimentation. Paid advertising consumed only about $8,000, a remarkably small outlay. Most of those funds went for ads in black and ethnic newspapers and radio stations in the New York area.

By and large, the promotional campaign focused on publicity and public relations rather than paid advertising. In part this was a result of limited funding, in part because of the strong natural interest ready to be aroused in the media, parental groups, educators, and social commentators in such a bold, progressive effort to grapple with a major national problem. *Underlying the success of the public*

Robert A. Hatch, Vice-President, Information.

relations campaign, in other words, was the essential validity and power of the program's social mission. Here again, we meet with the concept of filling the social "vacuum" as the explanation by a realistic CTW management of much of the "Sesame Street" success. As Hatch analyzes that achievement:

> The advertising helped a little bit, but we got so much attention and space on a public service basis from the commercial networks on the commercial stations and from the newspapers that, looking back on it, it was almost unnecessary for us to have done what we did on a paid basis. We were very fortunate. We were programmed into a vacuum. Nobody was doing what we were doing. There was a growing sense that something ought to be done, so we were providing a solution that might have been opposed in other ways by other people. Moving into a place where you do not have any competition gives you an awful lot of advantages from a promotional standpoint. Newspapers like things that are new and have never happened before. Promotionally this was very advantageous. You can do a lot of things when you are doing something for the first time. You get a lot of attention—and we did indeed.

THE PROMOTION PLAN

Spreading the word about the upcoming children's programming involved working on several public, trade, and professional levels simultaneously. There was a critical need to motivate concerned adults: parents, teachers, and various professionals and paraprofessionals who worked with children, as well as siblings, who influence set usage. Ultimately, it was the adult who represented the immediate channel to the child's tune-in trial of the program. Although "Sesame Street" was not designed to be used as a curriculum item by the school systems, educator interest and encouragement were considered necessary. Similarly, workers in programs like Head Start and in day-care centers and nurseries were seen as important points of contact. Another important part of the information program called for continuing servicing of the stations as the points of audience and community access to the program.

The concrete objectives [from "Project 'Sesame Street'," Carl Byoir and Associates, Inc.]:

1. to build and sustain the largest possible audience of preschool children for this experimental program;
2. to gain the attention of mothers and teachers who control TV sets or whose recommendations carry weight with children 3 to 5 years old and to devise methods and materials to assure their maximum utilization of the program;
3. to create special means of reaching the rural and urban poor whose young children most need such preschool training but who are unlikely to learn of its availability through regular communications channels;
4. to give strong guidance and support to public television stations carrying the program, most of them operating on minimum budgets with small staffs and little experience in promotions to attract mass audiences.

Taking into account known audience and coverage problems of public television, the Byoir plan took the position that:. . ."it was essential not only to inform the greatest number of people about the existence of Sesame Street but also to convince them of the rewards for seeking it out on their TV sets"

A four-tiered strategy was devised.

THE IMPORTANCE OF AUDIENCE PROMOTION

THE NATIONAL MEDIA CAMPAIGN

This was an overall campaign of publicity aimed at newspapers, magazines, wire services, syndicates, radio and TV networks. The bulk pointed at publications and air programs in October, November and December to coincide with the launching of the series. It began in the winter of 1968, with the completion of key staffing, but long before the format of the series had been determined, production begun, or even the name of the program decided on. At that time, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting was not yet operational, there was no PBS, and interconnection was only a hope. The tempo increased as the production and research phases began and progress could be noted and reported. From a practical standpoint, the serious promotion period may be said to have started approximately a year before the November, 1969, air debut, with the heaviest emphasis during the months and weeks immediately preceding the opening broadcast.

Every known technique was employed: press releases, speeches, brochures, magazine articles, radio and TV appearances, etc. The handling of the typical press story illustrates the scope of a national public relations effort. The Byoir organization maintains a national list of newspapers, press syndicates, magazines, TV and radio stations. Regional and local media contact is maintained through offices in Los Angeles, Chicago, Atlanta, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. There are four departments for distributing releases: women's section, daily press, magazines, broadcast media. Each section has its own lists and personal contacts. Announcements were made whenever something significant occurred, whether in production, research, the hiring of personnel, etc. Press releases were either hand-delivered or mailed, and where advisable, calls were made to individuals in the major newspapers and broadcast organization.

Press kits were furnished to all public stations that would be carrying the programs. A press kit is simply a collection of pieces of information, with photographs where appropriate, that answers the questions of the media about the program, its purpose, the people who are in it and the people who produce it, together with feature pieces. To be useful to the professional user, it has to be factual and concrete, and convey the basic information that would normally be delivered by that reporter assigned to cover the story. This calls for an understanding of the editorial needs of the media.

Among the items contained in an early "Sesame Street" press kit were releases covering biographies of some of the performers, a story about the Muppets and Muppet master Jim Henson, a survey report on program impact on inner-city viewers, a research story dealing with the study of the child-viewer's reaction to the program, a copy of the "Parent/Teacher Guide," a reprint of the extensive press coverage the series had stimulated, and a fact sheet containing the basic hard data about the production (presented in the following pages). Note its compactness and factualness. It contains a good deal of the essential pertinent information that the average journalist needs to have available *quickly and reliably.*

The prebroadcast kit for "The Electric Company" contained a copy of the 95¢ paperback book that had been mailed to the nation's grade-school teachers; a sheet of 24 small portraits of the cast; three blowups of live-action scenes; a sheet illustrating the use of animation in teaching letter combinations; an overall story dealing with the purpose of the program, the research and testing it had gone through, its entertainment stress, its cast, and how it would be aired by public television stations; a feature story on the use of electronic devices for screen teaching; a separate story on the research behind the program; a discussion between a teacher and "The Electric Company" producer Sam Gibbon on TV's capability for teaching reading; biographical sketches of the cast and production staff; a comprehensive fact sheet covering Producer, Basic Goals, Target Audience, Clearances, Broadcast Schedules, Format and Setting, Project Details (budget and

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'SESAME STREET' 1970-71: REVIEWER'S FACT SHEET

PRODUCER:	The Children's Television Workshop, an independent non-profit corporation chartered under the laws of New York State.
PRIMARY UNDERWRITERS:	U. S. Office of Education, the Ford Foundation, Carnegie Corporation and Corporation for Public Broadcasting.
BASIC GOALS:	to experiment in adaptation of techniques already proven successful in commercial television to the teaching of certain cognitive skills and affective behavior to preschool children.
TARGET AUDIENCE:	the approximately 12 million U. S. children between the ages of three and six, with special emphasis being put on the needs of the so-called disadvantaged child.
PROJECT DETAILS:	budget of close to $7 million to cover second season costs, including continuing research, production and distribution of seven months of broadcasts, increased utilization activity and post-program evaluation, in addition to Workshop administrative costs and development of a second series.
BROADCAST SCHEDULE:	145 hour-long segments in color to be broadcast weekdays beginning Monday, Nov. 9 on public broadcasting stations and shortly thereafter on commercial outlets. The majority of public stations will broadcast program both morning and evening and more than two dozen will run Saturday morning repeats.

* indicates home phone numbers.

CLEARANCES: approximately 200 public television stations and some 50 commercial stations in areas not reached by public TV.

SESAME STREET CAST:

Gordon ....Matt Robinson
Susan...........Loretta Long
Mr. Hooper......Will Lee
Bob.............Bob McGrath
Miquel..........Jaime Sanchez
Puppets.........Jim Henson's Muppets, including Henson and Puppeteers Carroll Spinney, Frank Oz, Fran Brill and Jerry Nelson

STAFF:

Executive Producer.....David D. Connell
Producer...............Jon Stone
Studio Producer........Lutrelle Horne
Director...............Robert Myhrum
Head Writer............Jeffrey Moss
Writers................Jerry Jule, Emily Perl Kaplin, Bob Oksner, Ray Sipherd and Dan Wilcox
Film Producer..........Shyrlee Dallard
Film Consultant........Edith Zornow

Associate Producers....Dulcy Singer, Joan Lufrano and Danny Benson
Assistants to the Producer.......... Emily Squires and Diana Wenman
Production Assistants..Lisa Simon, William Smith and Jimmy Baylor

Music Director.........Joe Raposo
Music Coordinator......Danny Epstein

Director of Operations...Ronald L. Weaver
Production Supervisor....Lynn Klugman
Supervising Film Editor..Dorothy Tod
Film Editor..............M. M. Murphy
Production Stage Manager..Chet O'Brien

Art Director.............Alan Compton
Lighting Director........George Riesenberger
Property Coordinator.....Nat Mongioi

CTW OFFICERS & STAFF

President................Joan Ganz Cooney
Vice President & Executive
Producer..........David D. Connell
Vice President & Research
Director..........Dr. Edward L. Palmer
Vice President & Asst. to
President.........Michael H. Dann
Vice President &
Treasurer.........Thomas P. Kennedy

Director of Information
& Utilization.....Robert A. Hatch
Corporate Secy. & Development
Director..........Robert Davidson
National Utilization
Director..........Evelyn P. Davis
Editor, Non-Broadcast
Materials Div.....Christopher Cerf
Corporation Counsel......Patricia Healy
Producer, 1971 Reading
Show..............Samuel Y. Gibbon
Special Projects Director
(CATV)............Franz Allina
Assistant Research
Directors.........Barbara Reeves and
Barbara Fowles
Assistant Information
Director..........Jason L. Levine
Editorial Supervisor,
Promotion.........Herbert Hadad
Assistant National Utilization
Director..........Charlie Smith

Senior Curriculum Specialist,
CTW/Editor, Sesame
Street Magazine...Jane O'Connor
Senior Curriculum Specialist,
Sesame Street.....Sharon Lerner

Special Assistant to the
President.........Lynn deVries
Assistant Treasurer......Martin Healy

WORKSHOP BOARD OF ADVISORS:

Dr. Gerald S. Lesser (chairman), Bigelow Professor of Education and Developmental Psychology, Harvard University Graduate School of Education

Dr. Leon Eisenberg, Chief of psychiatry, Massachusetts General Hospital.

WORKSHOP BOARD OF ADVISORS:
(Continued)

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Allonia Gadsen, director, The Emerson School, New York

Dorothy Hollingsworth, deputy director, Seattle Model City Program.

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Dr. Glen P. Nimnicht, program director, Far West Laboratory for Educational Research & Development.

Dr. Keith Osborn, professor of home economics and education, University of Georgia.

Dr. Chester M. Pierce, professor of education and psychiatry, faculty of medicine and the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University.

Elmo Roper, Roper Research Associates, Inc.

Maurice Sendak, children's book author and illustrator.

Paul K. Taff, president and general manager, Connecticut Educational Television Corporation.

Dr. James P. Comer, associate dean, Yale Medical School.

Maria B. Cerda, member of board, ASPIRA, Inc. of Illinois.

Dr. Florence Roswell, Professor of Education, School of Education, City College of New York.

Ahuanetta Cutler, language arts coordinator, Project Read, Board of Education, District 12, Bronx, New York.

operations covered by it), Primary Underwriters, Cast, CTW staff (numbering 52), Electric Company Research Facilities, CTW Officers, Workshop Board of Advisors, Workshop Board of Trustees. All of this was contained within a simple and smartly designed white folder and carried in a plastic bag printed with the words "The Electric Company" and the word in red: INFORMATION.

The CTW press kits are easily up to the commercial standard. A great deal of care and preparation go into each one as a matter of course. An equal energy is expended in seeing to it that it reaches its media target effectively.

The press response was almost unparalleled. Virtually every Sunday television section on November 9 gave cover treatment to the "Sesame Street" opening of the next day. All big city newspapers have carried stories, along with wire services and newspaper syndicates. Magazines publishing "Sesame Street" articles around premiere time included *Life, Look, Ebony, Time, Newsweek, Family Weekly, TV Guide, Tuesday, McCalls, Woman's Day, Jack and Jill, Saturday Review* and *Reader's Digest.* A full-color ad appeared in 40 comic books in November (circulation eight million) contributed by "Superman/Batman" copyright owners. It urged grade-schoolers to recommend the program to their little brothers and sisters.

PRESS CONFERENCE BY TELEVISION INTERCONNECTION

CTW introduced promotional innovations through the use of the TV system itself, both public and commercial. The staff produced a promotional film featuring the Muppets, which told the "Sesame Street" story and showed sample pieces of animation. It was broadcast by NET and was the highlight of a pioneering industry press conference conducted in May, 1969, before the pilots had been produced. The press conference was a one-hour afternoon presentation staged in New York and fed, via interconnection, to 180 public TV stations across the country for viewing and taping by station personnel, who then played it for the local press and dignitaries they had invited to their studios. As Hatch describes it:

> It was a tightly scripted, highly visually oriented presentation with show business properties, presenting examples of the kind of film and cartoon materials we planned for the show. We got the thing off from a start that created a kind of momentum and fascination, and we never did let down after that point. We came in so openly, so dramatically, and in so many places at one time, that it was almost impossible for anybody to ignore us, even if they had a mind to.

The same nationwide press conference technique was employed for "The Electric Company." Again, the press penetration achieved proved memorable.

COMMERCIAL TELEVISION PREVIEW

One of the most remarkable features in a remarkable public relations adventure was the unparalleled cooperation offered by commercial television, whose networks and stations lent themselves genuinely to on-the-air support of "Sesame Street." As Jay Levine recalls, the network cooperation was obtained primarily through personal contact. The highlight of this phase was the half-hour preview show carried on NBC two nights before the November 10 start on public television. This was made possible by a grant from Xerox in the form of the network time period purchased for the occasion. The CTW produced a special preview called "This Way to Sesame Street."

This was a tremendous "plug" for the series, for it thrust directly into the mass pool of commercial TV viewers with its message that a program of importance was awaiting their children on the public TV station. Hatch and staff made much of the novelty of the occasion:

> We pointed out to anybody who was willing to listen that this was the first time in the memory of the commercial networks

> that they ran a promo for another network's show. So unusual was it, noncommercial stations were allowed to pick up the program (from the commercial stations) and run it on the next night. On the following Monday "Sesame Street" itself debuted on the noncommercial channel, so there were a lot of unusual things to get the thing going.

The fact that the recently deceased Commissioner of Education James Allen appeared at the end of the preview program was also exploited by public relations, which distributed the text of his film remarks to every educational writer in the country a week before the broadcast.

Aiding the CTW public relations efforts was Xerox's own department, which mobilized its considerable energies for the event, and NBC Television Network's press department.

So spectacular was the impact of this venture that the idea was repeated for "The Electric Company." But the experience was not quite so happy. To begin with, the CTW was unable to clear the desired time on any of the three major commercial networks for a variety of technical reasons owing to schedule commitments, the half-hour length, the FCC-ordered cutback in prime time, the lateness of the request, and the specific Sunday night performance of the Workshop.

Convinced of the utility of the idea, however, the CTW group went to the Hughes' Sports Network and cleared 7:30 P.M. Thursday night on 150 commercial stations. This operation functions as an ad hoc network when it gets clients who are interested in national coverage but who, for one reason or another, are not in a position to purchase time on ABC, CBS, or NBC. The network is put together for each project. In other words, it does not exist as a going, fixed entity, with a group of stations affiliated with it alone, as is the case with the conventional network; rather, it is made up of whatever individual stations are willing to go along in a national hookup for the particular project. The network was put together successfully and expectations were high that preview night. Suddenly things changed.

This writer first became aware that something was wrong that afternoon when Joan Cooney's secretary called to cancel our 2:30 P.M. appointment. There was a crisis, she reported. To anyone with experience in broadcasting this is a commonplace occurrence, particularly on a premiere night. It was not until a woman at the reception desk provided the information that it became clear what the crisis was about. President Nixon had decided to go on national television and radio that night to inform the nation about his decision to nominate two individuals to the Supreme Court! He had chosen 7:30 P.M., the time of "The Electric Company" preview.

Much of the great effort involved in the preview program was expended in vain, for possibly over 40 percent of the anticipated coverage was lost, since most stations chose to air the President's statement in place of "The Electric Company." It was not a long statement, so in many cases, the remaining portion of "The Electric Company" was shown. Despite this unfortunate occurrence, the early press response to the program was highly favorable, testifying to the inherent appeal of the project and the confidence so widely generated in the "people who brought you 'Sesame Street'."

TRADE PROMOTION

In industry, a distinction is usually drawn between promotion aimed at consumers and the specific trade. Trade promotion is often considered to be as vital as consumer promotion, for the cooperation of distributors and dealers is essential if the product is to reach the ultimate user. This requires appropriate "showcasing." In television, whether commercial or noncommercial, it is important for the station—which can be considered the equivalent of the dealer in industry—to be interested in the program. To begin with, the national effort is worthless if the stations will not carry the program. They must therefore be sold on its value. As the section on Distribution shows, a significant portion of CTW management energy had to be devoted to this cause, in order to obtain the maximum number of desirable clearances. It is equally important that the station be willing to engage in local audience promotion and community activity on the program's behalf. Trade promotion is directed toward both ends.

It takes several forms: mailings, personal visits, industry conferences, trade publicity in the industry press, speeches. CTW did them all.

NEWSLETTER

To Joan Cooney, recently in the public television station ranks herself, the value of maintaining continuing contact with the country's stations was self-evident. The strategy was simple and effective: keep the constituency up to date with a continuing flow of information on the project's development. A useful device for this purpose is a regularly issued report in newsletter form, which presents the latest pertinent information to the reader, in this case the station management and staff. The first issue appeared January 1, 1969, some eight months before the program went on the air. It stressed two subjects: completion of the key staffing (through biographical summaries) and the clearance situation. The Newsletter began with a report that a number of stations were finding success in clearing morning time for the November start. It showed immediately that the CTW management was sympathetic to station problems in this area: "We are particularly pleased because we know that firming such a schedule for CTW has not been without its problems for most outlets, because they have instructional commitments to local school districts for daytime braodcasting."

There followed a note on the hopeful prospect for interconnection and simultaneous delivery of the program across the country and a report on a resolution of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters adopted at its November convention the preceding autumn, recommending:

> . . .full support and involvement in the project by all stations. . . . The (ETS/ITV) Committee is convinced that the proposed prime time morning broadcast is in the best interests of the station, the general public, and the educational systems served. The educational vitality being designed into the program merits this placement in the schedule. The research and experimentation inherent in the project has far reaching implications for the development of other educational TV productions for children.

This was followed by a brief "Rationale for Mid-Morning Airing" which stated the CTW reasons for considering the hours between 9:00 A.M. and noon as the "preschoolers' version of prime time."

The Newsletter has been a continuing publication, issued about seven or eight times a year and numbered consecutively. As a group, it faithfully records the project's development, touching on virtually every aspect of its operation: programming, research, clearances, promotion, utilization, cast, personnel, nonbroadcast materials, international activities, and so forth. As in the case of the press releases, the treatment, while optimistic is tone, in factual and informational rather than exhortative or blatantly promotional.

As the project moved toward broadcast opening day, the Newsletter content was broadened to make it useful to others in the community recommended by the stations, such as opinion leaders, press, educators.

The usefulness of the CTW Newsletter is evident when its economy and efficiency as an informational tool are understood. It replaces a series of unrelated mailings, makes it possible and practical to cover a great variety of information in a handy form, and provides a continuing sense of identity about the source of that information and of its strength and vitality. It is not a universal tool, however.

It must never be forgotten that in the Children's Television Workshop we are dealing with a major, pioneering institution, understood and appreciated as such by a medium that for all the practical clearance difficulties it represented still was quite aware of its historic importance. The medium was therefore interested in the project as a whole, not simply in its program end product. A Newsletter was therefore solidly justifiable, particularly because the project was so conceived and organized that it continued to generate legitimate and important *news* of interest to a station readership.

It would probably be presumptuous for an organization with a modest, simple mandate to produce a program to attempt to issue a newsletter on the CTW lines. It could not, in the first place, presume a burning interest among the readership it is aimed at. Nor would there, in all likelihood, be enough occurring in the development of the program to warrant such reporting. It was not just "Sesame Street" which was the substance of the CTW report, but the wide-ranging activities of the *Workshop* as an institution that gave promise of building into a major factor in the life of noncommercial broadcasting.

The average project's informational requirements are probably met by a more modest occasional report in the form of a letter to the stations, a news release, or both. However, where the conditions combine to put the project in the national spotlight as a significant development whose destiny may be presumed to be of interest to the medium at large, a newsletter does appear to be justifiable.

APPEARANCES AT INDUSTRY MEETINGS

Appearances by Joan Cooney at industry conferences were helpful in keeping station management informed and in stimulating their interest and support. She spoke at the NET affiliate meetings in October, 1968, when, as she later said, the Workshop "consisted of little more than some promises and plans on paper, and a few optimistic staff members," and at the group's New York gathering on April 9, 1969, when she was in a position to deliver a comprehensive and detailed report on progress to date and show film clips of the experimental segments being tested. She wound up with a plea for clearance at the desired time.

Since the emergence of the Public Broadcasting System and the transition of NET from a combination production and national distribution organization to a national production center, the affiliate relationship is now maintained with PBS. If a project is important enough an effort to tell its story before this group will certainly be helpful. Another gathering of broadcasters at which this can be done effectively is the annual fall convention of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB).

SPEECHES AND PRESENTATIONS

According to the Carl Byoir summary:

> Several hundred talks and presentations were given by the CTW staff members before a variety of groups in the year preceding the show's premiere. Among those making major speeches were Mrs. Joan Ganz Cooney, David Connell, Dr. Edward Palmer. Groups addressed by them included NET promotion directors, NET affiliate station managers, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting's Advisory Committee on Education and Labor, the Senate Commerce Subcommittee on Communications, the National Dairy Council, the National Conference of Christian Broadcasters, the House Subcommittee on Communications and Power Hearings on the Public Broadcasting Act, the American Association of Elementary/Kindergarten/Nursery Educators of the NET, the New

York City Hofstra Council, and the National Council of Jewish Women.

ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT

An effort was made to obtain backing from social, educational and community organizations on both national and local level. The CTW was successful in obtaining involvement of some sort by church groups, the Boy Scouts, community agencies, local government bodies, schools, PTA's, women's clubs, the National Council of Jewish Women, the Urban League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), National Council of Churches, and VISTA. These worked through their own communications networks and through volunteer activity to spread the word.

PARENT-TEACHER GUIDE

A monthly "Parent-Teacher Guide to 'Sesame Street,'" listing the educational content of each program, was distributed through the local stations. It suggests follow-up activities for mothers and teachers in day-care centers, Head Start groups and other groups. The Guide is delivered by mail to middle- and upper-income subscribers—a year's subscription is $2. Receipts were combined with grants to make the publication available free in the disadvantaged areas. The Guide has become one of the basic tools of CTW's nonbroadcast activity. Its circulation is now 225,000. Last year a grant from Mobil Oil of $250,000 enabled the Workshop to distribute approximately five million copies free of charge in the poorer areas.

Actual use of the Guide is discussed in the section on Field Services and Utilization. The Guide's growing importance is underscored by the increasing pressure on those who represent the program in the poverty areas to make free copies available in ever increasing numbers. This pressure, in turn, intensifies the search for additional funding. The Workshop is confronted with a continuing problem of how to cope with competing demands for increasing portions of a given budget for proven and worthwhile services that its own vigorous departments have generated. The Mobil Oil grant that last year paid for ghetto distribution of the Guide, this year has been awarded for general support. At the same time, as the Workshop field force has extended its reach and effectiveness in the disadvantaged areas, its need for adequate follow-up printed materials for distribution to the poor has grown. The dilemma remains unresolved.

CTW
SESAME STREET

Big Bird.

CHAPTER NINE

REACHING THE DISADVANTAGED

> Our efforts to reach, teach and then reinforce the lessons of "Sesame Street" through professional community workers is unique in the history of television. I consider our utilization program almost as important to "Sesame Street" as the creation of the program itself, for without an audience that includes the widest possible range of preschool children we would not be meeting one of the Workshop's fundamental goals.
>
> Joan Ganz Cooney, Feb. 8, 1971, on announcing appointment of Evelyn P. Davis as vice-president for community relations

THE CHALLENGE OF THE GHETTO

From the beginning it was clear that the most difficult task of promotion would be in the ghetto areas of the great urban centers, and much thought and planning was brought to bear on the problem by the white, middle-class management group that was leading the way. In theory, they had worked out a more-or-less sound design, calling for TV station and Workshop involvement in direct community action and continuing contact with ghetto groups. In practice, the early strategy revealed great variations in effectiveness from area to area, and the CTW management concluded that this aspect of the promotion effort had to be revised in the direction of *greater direct involvement by the CTW staff and less dependence on outside sources.* This conclusion led to a repositioning of the community extension function, then called "utilization," in the table of organization. Today, it is no longer a part of the information department and as such, viewed as one of the promotional areas, but a separate department in its own right, called community relations, and headed by an executive with vice-presidential status, Evelyn Davis.

The vice-president for community relations is on a par with the vice-presidents for programming, finance and administration, research, information, special projects and director of nonbroadcast materials and functions as an integral member of the management team reporting to president Cooney. This restructuring has an important meaning for the noncommercial medium and for organizations whose purpose is to provide an educational service to the disadvantaged audience through broadcasting. It reflects formal recognition that in this period, when huge populations remain ghettoized, the conventional promotional techniques geared to white middle-class media are largely ineffective where this audience is concerned and that an entirely new set of techniques has to be employed based on the concept of direct personal involvement in the community.

AN EVOLVING ORGANIZATIONAL FORM

Like so much else in the CTW, the community relations department of the present period is a product of direct experience. Its functions have only recently crystallized enough to give it a distinct identity. In its early phase, its purpose seemed to lie partly in promotion and partly in what has come to be known as "utilization" in the educational television field. Traditionally, utilization has referred to off-the-air supplementation of programming through the use of printed materials, discussion groups, and the like. It was vital that minority parents be reached, in order to make them aware of the program and stimulate them to expose their children to it. Later, it would be important to educate them in the ways they could reinforce its lessons and thus enhance its effectiveness.

WHY A SPECIAL EFFORT TO REACH MINORITIES WAS NEEDED

It is not always easy for those reared in a white, middle-class culture to grasp fully the extent of the racial and class gulf that must be bridged if such a project is to succeed. Mrs. Davis explains the thinking that underlay the original concept of utilization:

> A utilization was going to be needed to supplement the production of "Sesame Street" for several reasons: it was to be shown on the educational stations, and they are not generally watched by minority communities. The programming on those stations has not always been relevant to their needs, but geared to the suburban, white, middle-class communities.
>
> In order to receive the educational programs in many cities, you need a UHF set that can receive the signal. Which meant that if you were poor and had an old set, that was out—or even a newer set with the UHF capability—you might not know how to tune it in, you might not have an adapter or know that you needed one. And the transmission into the central cities could be so very poor that even if you tried to get the program you couldn't. In some places it's almost a total disaster. Most of the time expensive antenna installations are required in these places.
>
> You still have problems with people not realizing that educational stations have programs they might be interested in. There's a difference in Los Angeles, in that there's a large Chicano community. The UHF stations have carried programs in Spanish for those who are not English-speaking. So the Chicano community is more accustomed to tuning in the UHF channels than, say, the black community.
>
> For these reasons it was felt that if the program was going to reach the target community—the inner-city child and the poor white child—a special effort was going to have to be made. There was recognition that traditional methods of promotion and advertising do not necessarily reach these communities.
>
> When you talk about newspaper advertising, you must remember that in so many minority communities there aren't any newsstands—or very few. There are very few outlets where you can buy newspapers and periodicals. And it's only recently that people have become aware of ethnic-oriented radio stations and realize that they are a source of communication with poor communities. They've never gone beyond a ten-block radius of their homes.
>
> When you think about people who are isolated—in many ways deliberately—then the question is: how do you get a message to them? How do you stimulate their interest in terms of what's important to them?

THE FIRST STAGE—ASSIGNING THE UTILIZATION JOB TO THE STATIONS

On the surface, it made sense to look to the public television stations in the major cities to be the forward wing of the utilization effort. They existed, had staffs, knew the markets, had contacts with the power structures, and were interested in the welfare of the program. CTW grants were made to ten such stations for this purpose.

In most of the stations the utilization responsibility was lodged with the promotion director. In San Francisco the station hired a white male activist to conduct the campaign. In Dallas a black man already on staff as community relations director assumed the function. In Boston the CTW hired a black woman who functioned in effect as a member of the station staff. In Washington, D.C., the task was

Mrs. Evelyn Davis, Vice President for Community Relations, receiving a gift of television sets for use in "Sesame Street" viewing centers.

turned over to a local public relations firm. In New York, a headquarters staff member conducted the campaign.

The New York office prepared a detailed 21-page "Promotion and Utilization Manual" for station guidance, dated September 26, 1969, two months before the premiere. Its introductory statement perceptively sums up the challenge and the difficulties that must face anyone attempting an urban promotion job in the present period:

> While the series is designed to entertain and help prepare all preschool children for the formal schooling to come, of particular concern is the so-called disadvantaged child. Special efforts are necessary to attract the disadvantaged child, wherever he may reside, to view "Sesame Street."
>
> In the past, public television has not had wide appeal to this segment of the population. This manual is designed to help bridge that gulf as well as provide general promotional guidance.
>
> The main goal of this effort, as in promoting any television program, is to get the viewer to turn on the set and select the "Sesame Street" channel. This goal, in itself, is by no means a simple one, as you well know.
>
> For the first time for all of us, we are being asked to go beyond merely promoting a show. We are being asked to set up groups of preschool viewers, to use volunteers and other members of the community in such ways that this can be achieved.
>
> Educational television in the past has attracted a select audience, far from the kind of mass audience at which "Sesame Street" is aimed. Thus this major promotional effort is necessary to familiarize some segments of the general public with the location of educational television stations on the dial. And special efforts beyond that will be necessary to attract those who reside in the inner city or in other disadvantaged or depressed areas, for this is a large group that may be almost unaware of educational television. And use of the normal means of communication—general circulation newspapers and magazines, on-the-air promotion, etc.—cannot assure your reaching these people. Other methods—from street rallies to something akin to word-of-mouth campaigns—will be necessary if we are to attract these families, and a large part of our mandate for the success of "Sesame Street" is to do just that.

The manual offers suggestions on working with community organizations, the use of volunteers, placing materials in existing libraries and other centers, storefront and distribution centers, setting up viewing centers, encouraging mothers to set up special neighborhood viewing groups, distribution of the Guide, use of organization newsletters, community newspapers, meeting with local merchants, conducting street corner and shopping center rallies, conducting door-to-door word-of-mouth campaigns, station tune-in demonstrations, distributing flyers, use of sound trucks, library story corners, poster contests, Sesame Street Day, naming of a Sesame Street, giveaways, business and labor involvement, working with the press and the broadcast media.

Despite the apparent soundness of the planning and the expertise embodied in the manual, the station-centered utilization operation was found wanting, by and large. The two main reasons: (1) the stations, in general, were not adequately equipped in manpower, resources, experience or orientation; (2) the CTW New York headquarters underrated the scope, manpower and cost requirements of a field effort.

At the end of the first season, Mrs. Davis toured the grant cities to see how the campaigns had gone and to assess community reaction:

> When you look at the stations and ask who constitute their personnel, you find they are white, middle-class people—they do not even know where the inner cities are. . . they are vaguely aware that there is something out there. They don't know the people in the community. They probably have all kinds of weird fears. They're traditionally oriented in terms of how you promote—you put ads in newspapers, you put posters downtown, and so on. They don't necessarily know the minority newspapers or stations or the organizations that exist in the minority communities.
>
> They were not given guidelines as to how they were to approach these things. It was left up to them. They used a variety of approaches. They assigned the job to the promotion manager, if they had one, or to the program manager. In some cases they used 10 percent of their time to promote "Sesame Street," in some cases, 50 percent. In other cases they hired someone to help the promotion manager, and then they worked together. In a couple of instances they didn't do anything that we could discover.

Mrs. Davis found that community awareness of the program was highest in those cities where someone had been hired specifically for the utilization job. Distribution of the "Parent-Teachers Guide" in the inner-city communities was also most effective in these areas. At the same time, no specific goals had been established for the stations, she notes, other than: reach the inner city.

In one city the station brought together various community groups for the purpose of combining forces and setting in motion one coordinated organization campaign. The attempt failed, owing to the different degrees of experience and sophistication of the participants, their suspicions of each other, and the variety of social orientations. It proved impossible even to develop an overall plan.

Although certain cities enjoyed the benefits of successful campaigns, notably Boston, Dallas, San Francisco, and to some extent, Chicago, Mrs. Davis recalls, you could not fail to be impressed by the scope of the job that yet remained to be done once you sampled awareness in virtually any city. In the hard-core poverty areas of Chicago, for example, "Sesame Street" was still virtually unknown after the program had been on for almost half a year, and even in the best-covered cities you could find plenty of individuals and community groups who did not know what you were talking about when you mentioned the program name. The word had not gotten out. In area after area there was no knowledge about the show. They'd never heard of it. They'd never received any material or seen any flyers.

HOW "SESAME STREET" WAS PROMOTED IN HARLEM AND BEDFORD- STUYVESANT

New York's Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant represent the nation's largest concentration of urban minorities. The city is also the headquarters of the Children's Television Workshop. A mammoth campaign was conducted in these areas, aimed at reaching directly as many of the black and Puerto Rican communities as possible. It was a triumph of the dedication and energy of a tiny staff. Beginning in September, about two months before the "Sesame Street" premiere, the shoeleather-based campaign got under way, Evelyn Davis recalls.

She and her few helpers distributed "millions of pieces of paper," flyers and information sheets, developed a "Parent-Teachers Guide," operated audiovisual units, held hundreds of workshops and orientation meetings with parents, teachers and others, showed a film, interpreted program goals, and explained what parents could do to reinforce the show.

In schools with preschool programs they arranged meetings for parents of in-school children, as well as with parents whose youngsters were not yet attending school. These meetings were conducted in Spanish and English.

There were meetings with teachers, day-care people, Head Start groups. Dialogues were begun with the Housing Authority in the hope of obtaining facilities to establish viewing centers, with the Social Services Department for use of its facilities when people came to welfare centers and their health and dental clinics, for children to be able to watch the program while they were waiting to be seen; with the Visiting Nurses Association to distribute materials while visiting homes, and so forth.

NYC Field Services Coordinator, Joyce Johnson, conducting follow-up activities with pre-schoolers.

CTW Field Services Coordinators from across the country meet in CTW offices with members of New York staff.

They worked with numerous organizations: the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of Negro Women, the Urban League, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, and others. Various companies assisted, among them Consolidated Edison, the public utility, which supplied the better part of the mobile fleet. Four trucks were used to show films and hand out material to sidewalk audiences. Each was equipped with a film projector and rear-projection screen and was manned by volunteers and a driver paid by the sponsoring company.

The staff organized special events, street fairs and parties, to bring people together. Volunteers—there were eight of them in addition to the three staff people—conducted nightly parent-teacher meetings.

Some half-million pieces of paper were distributed door-to-door. At first an attempt was made to establish direct contact with each person, but too many people were afraid to open the door, so the sheets were slipped underneath. In some apartment buildings, the leaflets were put in the mail boxes. Organized groups of teenagers, paid small sums, implemented the door-to-door campaign. They came from the neighborhoods being covered.

Popular events offered distribution opportunities. The first year there was a major football game, followed by a parade the next day. It was a big event in the black community.

An estimated 60,000 people attended the football game and 200,000 watched the parade. The CTW field force covered both events. Mrs. Davis describes what was done:

> We literally put something into everybody's hands. Then we went around afterwards to see what the throwaway rate had been. It was very, very minimal. We looked in the streets and into the trash cans. We wanted to see if the flyers we were using were attracting attention so that people held on to them, and tried to figure out whether the message we were trying to convey was getting into the home. We didn't find many being thrown away. We were surprised. We gave away at least 200,000. Again we used teenagers to whom we gave a dollar. There were about 50. We had a station wagon with bundles of paper. It moved along the parade route at designated spots, about every five blocks. There would be one cadre of kids here and another later on. The station wagon would circle around and feed the handlers.

The use of mobile units for outdoor film showings was not as successful. They created logistical problems involving meeting volunteers at specified places, getting a police permit for every precinct, scheduling accurately to meet school groups at recess or lunch periods in different parts of the huge city, finding adequate electrical outlets sometimes requiring special permits; moreover, mechanical failure meant the whole effort was meaningless, and therefore maintenance had to be considered. Mrs. Davis questions whether she would utilize such units again.

Fortunately, the scheduling of "Sesame Street" on the commercial Channel 11 at the desired 9:00 A.M. meant that a station with a long record of children's programming was being used. At the same time, Channel 13, the public television station, was familiar to many in the black community because of "Soul" and "Black Journal"; the program was carried that first year in the afternoon.

The two commercial Spanish-speaking stations, Channels 41 and 46, aired announcements. In addition, the staff engaged a Spanish-speaking aide to go to areas where Spanish was spoken and to help the CTW people understand some of the cultural differences that should be considered in planning contact with that community. The language barrier did present some difficulties for the reinforcement activities program.

Reviewing that campaign, Mrs. Davis cites the direct meetings with parents and teachers as the most significant, in the final analysis:

> Of all the things we've done, the most effective, the most important, have been the meetings with the parents and teachers. The key to the child is the parent. Preschool children don't always have first chance at the TV set. The parent may have her favorite daytime show. There may be other brothers and sisters around. Very often the tot in the family is the last one considered. So you have to get the parent to understand that this is so important for her child she might have to give up whatever she may have been watching at that hour so that the child can watch.
>
> It takes lots and lots of meetings with lots and lots of different groups of people, supplemented by materials—which are critical.

Before one can do an intelligent community job, Evelyn Davis warns, it is necessary to survey the dimensions of the problem, to find out how many children are in the target audience, where they are and how they spend their time. In New York, for example, the staff gathered census figures, went to schools, the City, community organizations like day-care councils and Head Start. Interestingly, they added 10 percent to the figures they were given, on the grounds that this community is underrepresented in census counts. Moreover, you have to know how many of the children are in preschool programs. Mrs. Davis found it was difficult to obtain accurate figures. It finally comes down to knowing your area and where its sources of information are.

TWO FIELD EXPERIENCES WITH OPPOSITE RESULTS

As the New York campaign suggests, it is possible to reach the mass of the disadvantaged population even in the country's largest urban area, and reach it effectively, if:

1. the campaign is conceived and executed totally within the framework of the target community parameters, that is, discarding conventional white, middle-class techniques and concentrating on a shoeleather, person-to-person effort, while taking advantage of whatever minority media support may be available;
2. the campaign is directed from a strong base of financial and executive support, so that the full resources of the coordinator, however limited, can be focused on the job at hand without wasteful dissipation of energy and funds on the struggle to build that basic support itself;
3. operating authority and initiative are lodged in the field, rather than headquarters, whose main function should be supportive.

Because each market differs from the others in resources, population composition, ethnic and economic relationships, and in many other ways, no single operating pattern is necessarily the best for all. In the final analysis, everything depends on the ability of the individual field director and the backup he or she is given. While, in general, the choice of establishing the utilization function within the staff makes for easier control and direction, which grows in importance as the activities multiply and take on increasing complexity, it is no guarantee of success in each instance. What the practice does is make it more likely that the field project will move in the desired direction, owing to the more efficient interaction with the home office than would be the case presumably with a completely decentralized pattern.

Here are two cases from the first year's experience of the CTW. The first case shows utilization effort can create serious difficulties. The second demonstrates the opposite: how effective a campaign can be when the resources and the local power structure are properly lined up behind it.

In one instance, there appears to have been little active cooperation between the field and headquarters, largely because a small New York staff was fearfully busy and apparently overextended. Because there was no strong relationship with the local station, the field coordinator had to spend much of her time seeking and preparing office space and worrying about utilization materials which were always in short supply. Communication with New York was inadequate and decisions were hard to get. Most of the modest budget allocated had to go to salaries and office expenses, leaving little for the utilization effort itself. Still, the coordinator managed to make important and highly useful contact and was able to establish a number of workshops. Much of the coordinator's time was spent in getting organizations and individuals to make donations of materials and services.

It took several such experiences to convince CTW management that a system had to be devised which would improve communications with and service to the field.

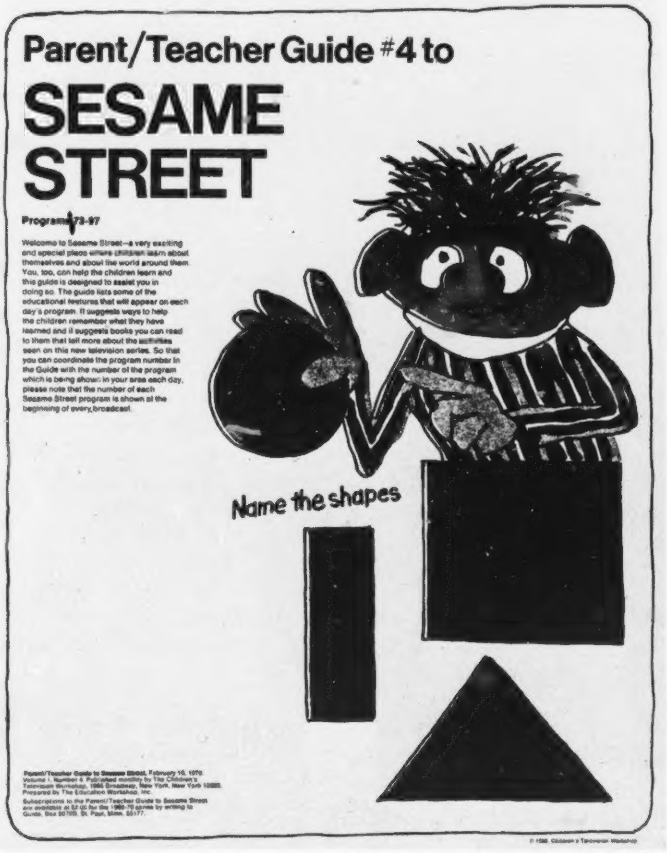
DALLAS—WHEN THINGS GO WELL

The station grant period did demonstrate that although it might be unwise to rely on external forces to carry the utilization burden generally good results can be obtained when there is strong local direction and support. At the time the CTW decided to try the station route, the Dallas public television station, KERA, Channel 13, was undergoing a change in direction as a result of the prodding of its new chairman of the board, Ralph Rogers, president of Texas Industries and the station's equally new young manager, Robert Wilson. The team was seeking to broaden the station's perspective. One step was to hire a man with strong ethnic ties who still could appeal to all groups as community administrator. That man was Charlie Smith. Smith had been with the Episcopal Church Army and assigned to West Dallas. Through this assignment he made many community contacts. He left to become national director of the Episcopal Church Army in New York City, returning to Dallas for the Channel 13 job.

As a black man with community leader experience, Smith was able to maintain his credibility in the black community while responding to calls for speaking engagements in the white community. The station applied for and was given a CTW utilization grant of $15,000. Smith was assigned the task.

The campaign actually got under way with the arrival of a spokesman for a group of wealthy white Dallas women who wanted to help the station. She asked Smith what Channel 13's most pressing need was. He replied. "A survey of all the day-care centers in the Dallas area." Ten days later she returned with the report. This group formed the Sesame Street Guild.

They led the campaign to obtain assistance from local business. Since they realized they were ignorant of the black community, they asked Smith for some training in how to enter and deal with it. Systematically, they called on all the day-care centers on their list, to determine whether they had TV sets, the extent of watching the program, etc. They also offered to come in when the set was not being used to work with the children and reinforce the material afterwards. Large merchants found themselves agreeing to donate color TV sets to the centers.



Parent/Teacher Guide #4 to

SESAME STREET

Programs 73-97

Welcome to Sesame Street—a very exciting and special place where children learn about themselves and about the world around them. You, too, can help the children learn and this guide is designed to assist you in doing so. The guide lists some of the educational features that will appear on each day's program. It suggests ways to help the children remember what they have learned and it suggests books you can read to them that tell more about the activities seen on this new television series. So that you can coordinate the program number in the Guide with the number of the program which is being shown in your area each day, please note that the number of each Sesame Street program is shown at the begining of every broadcast.

Name the shapes

CTW
SESAME STREET
MAGAZINE
NOW MONTHLY
36 FULL-COLOR PICTURE PAGES
★ GAMES, STORIES, ACTIVITIES ★ BIG 16" x 20" POSTER
★ 6 BETTER-THAN-EVER PARENTS' PAGES

Smith believes that his greatest asset in this period stemmed from his "power position." He appeared on local news shows as a station representative, and also as the man who had brought "Sesame Street" to Dallas. In addition, he wrote for the *Dallas Times Herald.*

Throughout the campaign Smith found a readiness to contribute skills and time among the white professional and business segments. For example, poster design was done by young men employed in the city's leading advertising agencies who were interested in doing something with social meaning, with only a small reimbursement. The new UHF commercial station, which was featuring stock market reports, interrupted this service for reports on "Sesame Street" progress. The other commercial sta[illegible]lso helped with announcements.

Within the station there was enthusiasm for the program, and the staff was receptive to "Sesame Street" promotion.

The general upbeat situation is illustrated by Smith's story of a friend of the manager who drove up one day in his Ferrari, said he had heard the station needed money and wrote out a check for $5000. Because his own salary and support costs were already borne by the station, Smith was able to devote all of the grant money to the utilization campaign itself.

In Smith's opinion, the next stage of development will probably see the emergence of the regional concept in the field services area, with a regional director heading up each area.

Today Charlie Smith is national director of field services. Smith's report on the Dallas campaign, as prepared for the CTW, appears on the next pages.

CTW'S DECISION TO CREATE ITS OWN FIELD STAFF

The management assessment of the station promotion campaign led directly to the policy decision to make utilization a staff function, to build a field staff, and to set up a separate program whose sole charge would be to reach the disadvantaged and inner-city communities.

The present departmental structure is an outgrowth of that decision. It is organized around 13 major urban and disadvantaged areas, each one of which is served by a resident CTW field coordinator:

Baltimore
Boston
Chicago
Dallas (serving as headquarters
for Texas)
Detroit
Jackson (serving as headquarters
for Mississippi)
Los Angeles (2)
New Orleans
Oakland
Philadelphia
San Antonio
San Francisco
St. Paul
Washington, D.C.

The field coordinators report to field services director, Charlie Smith. Directly under Smith are an assistant director, Andy Aguilar; a national training manager, Kathy Moses; the Model Viewing Center at the headquarters where utilization materials are tested on children, run by Bettye Bargonetti; resources, headed by Freda Staton; an administrative coordinator, George Warren; a "Sesame Street" manager, Brenda Belton, an "Electric Company" manager, Margaret Blizard; and a special events coordinator, Carlos Fernandez. These are channels through which the field coordinators are expected to forward all requests to the national staff.

With field services organized as the basic, continuing community operation, reporting to Evelyn Davis, the special activities department has been created, also reporting to her. Its director is Vivian Riley, assisted by Carol Brooks.

A government projects director position is on the drawing board, to work with

REPORT FROM DALLAS UTILIZATION EFFORT

COMMUNITY DEPARTMENT

the purpose of the community department is twofold:

1 - TO MAKE CHANNEL 13---SESAME STREET---
KNOWN AND RELEVANT TO THE TOTAL
COMMUNITY

2 - TO CAUSE THIS RELEVANCY TO MANIFEST
ITSELF THROUGH MEMBERSHIP, FINANCIAL
SUPPORT AND, ULTIMATELY, IN THE FORMING
OF NEIGHBORHOOD VIEWING GROUPS FOR THE
WINNER SESAME STREET

following are methods we have used in promotion of sesame street during the months of october, 1969 to march, 1970 -- some results as we see them -- and plans for future efforts.

ADVERTISING

newspaper:

november

12 full-page ads in:
- dallas times herald
- dallas morning news
- post tribune
- in sepia
- el sol
- independent press

bus posters:

january--february--march

200 exterior bus posters for 90-day period

ethnic window posters:

march....

2,100 posters specially designed for target area businesses -- distributed by boy scouts in these areas

TEXAS STATE FAIR BOOTH

october 4th - 19th

a replica of the sesame street set was designed for use at the state fair and was exposed to 2-1/2 million people. about 150,000 were reached through our literature.

SESAME STREET VISITORS

the set was reassembled at the station to serve as office space for the community department and as a point of interest for visiting youngsters, preschool classes, head start classes, blue bird groups, etc.

response to this has been extremely good. many groups and classes of older children have also expressed interest in coming to the station, both to become more acquainted with a television studio and to see the sesame street set. however, we have tried to limit groups visiting the station to preschool and first grade levels as we felt the station is not geared to adequately handle older and larger groups at this time.

the groups visiting the station view the sesame street program in the conference room. (in some cases, the center where the children stay do not use television in their program, and this viewing at the station has provided encouragement to the children to view the program at home in the afternoons.) the youngsters then visit the set area, receive guides, buttons and balloons. when possible, they are brought to the studio area where they can see themselves on the monitor.

SPEAKERS BUREAU

we have made available speakers from the station to present programs at meetings of any organization interested in channel 13 or sesame street in the greater dallas area.

approximately 150 clubs and organizations have responded by inviting a speaker from the station.

this has served as an excellent opportunity and a most effective method by which to arouse community interest and support.

response has been very good. individuals and groups alike have given their support as a direct result of exposure to a presentation. they have done this in various ways, some of which are: word-of-mouth advertising for the station and sesame street, announcements in various publications, individual memberships, group contributions, fund-raising projects to benefit the station (inspired by sesame street in particular) examples, talent show, bake sale.

INVOLVEMENT WITH SESAME STREET

council of jewish women

this organization was responsible for the state fair booth promotion from october 4th - 19th.

they also conducted 5 shopping center promotions where the dallas public library bookmobile was used to attract attention and show the sesame street film to youngsters.

dallas jaycees

this group handled contacts with tom thumb stores and other businesses for distribution of 20,000 parent/teacher guides to promote use of sesame street program.

boy scouts of america

three inner city districts - mustang, silver buffalo and westview - are distributing 2,100 posters in the major area of ethnic concentration. these posters will be placed in businesses.

dallas public libraries

they provided the bookmobile for shopping center promotions. each library has served as a distribution point and information center for parent/teacher guides. they have displayed posters and encouraged patrons to fill out cards* to be placed on our mailing list.

other libraries

libraries in all surrounding towns and the county libraries have served as distribution points and information centers for the guides. they have displayed posters and encouraged people to fill out cards* to be placed on our mailing list.

public housing projects

their offices have been distribution points and information centers for the guides. they have displayed posters and their day care centers use sesame street as part of their program. management people have cooperated fully to inform their tenants of the program's importance in counseling sessions, tenant meetings, when paying rent, at classes in their community centers, clinics, etc.

*see attached card

FIRST CLASS
Permit No.
DALLAS, TEXAS

Business Reply Mail No postage stamp necessary if mailed in the United States

Postage will be paid by:

KERA-TV CHANNEL 13
3000 Harry Hines Boulevard
P.O. Box 19545
Dallas, Texas 75219

Attention: Charlie Smith

YES, i would like to help my child find the early joy of learning. please send me the free parent/teacher guides to sesame street.

name ______________________ phone

address ______________________

city ______________________ zip code

this card has been highly successful - we have received over 500 they are coming in at the rate of 10 a day

day care centers - dallas and surrounding towns

these centers have been contacted by mail, telephone, and in person in many instances, to acquaint them with the importance of sesame street and encourage its use in their program.

a complete telephone survey is now underway telling us if they have tv sets and if they are using the program. the survey should be finished march 26. (see attached survey sheet)

response from the day care centers has ranged from disinterested to extremely enthusiastic over sesame street. we have observed that in some centers where a kindergarten program is in effect, the staff in charge felt a tv program could not replace their own methods. in other cases, the teachers have enthusiastically stated that sesame street conveyed information to the children in methods far more interesting and effective than they could do in conventional ways.

parent-teacher associations

preschool and elementary school pta's, as well as several city council pta's, in dallas and surrounding towns have responded enthusiastically. they have invited speakers from the station, sent in contributions, announced the program's importance at their meetings and in publications, sent in names for guides, and conducted various fund-raising projects to benefit the station. an illustration is the rugel elementary school pta of mesquite which put on a talent show, sold tickets and will present the proceeds to the station. another group is having a bake sale.

dallas negro chamber of commerce

we have used their mailing list to inform all businesses, clubs and organizations of sesame street's potential, and asked for their help for further promotion. the response was limited.

urban league

they have been involved in a limited way, but have now agreed to be more meaningfully involved in our campaign to secure tv sets. in fact, the director of the league is chairing the drive in dallas.

LICENSED CHILD CARE FACILITIES IN THE GREATER DALLAS AREA

Do you have a television set? Yes______ No______ Black & White______ Color______

Do you use the program "Sesame Street"? Yes______ No______ AM______ PM______

Do you receive the Parent/Teacher guides? Yes______ No______ How Many?__________

Comments____

____

____

____

KERA-TV CHANNEL 13

RESULTS OF TELEPHONE SURVEY

State Department of Public Welfare List of Licensed Child Care Facilities in Dallas County

Number on list:		463
Could not be reached -- no listing, no longer in operation, etc.	39	
No answer (still trying) --	10	
Did not wish to answer questions --	8	
	57	
Not contacted:		57
Completed questionnaire:		406*
*16,231 children involved in these centers		
Total centers on list:		463

In the 406 centers contacted there are:

330 black & white tv sets
90 color tv sets

420 total sets

24 centers with no tv sets

3 people indicated they have purchased color tv sets because of "Sesame Street," and 2 indicated they were considering it.

The following centers use the program: 359

a.m.	p.m.	both a.m./p.m.	not at all	no tv set
256	191	119	47	24

The following number of centers receive parent/teacher guides: 319

do not: 44

REACHING THE DISADVANTAGED

school districts

superintendents in area towns have been contacted to inform them of sesame street and see if the program could be used in classes. we have also made available quantities of the parent/teacher guides and they have cooperated by having the primary students take copies home and encouraged them to watch the program in the afternoons.

the following school districts have been contacted:

dallas
carrollton-farmers branch
cedar hill
de soto
duncanville
grand prairie
highland park
lancaster
mesquite
plano
richardson
garland
sunnyvale
irving
big springs
san angelo
san antonio

the dallas school district is not actively involved, but a number to teachers have contacted us directly and asked for guides for their classes.

special education classes have been especially enthusiastic as to results of their students watching the program. many have stated that students who did not previously respond to teaching have responded remarkably to sesame street

other groups

the following groups have been contacted and have helped promote sesame street to a greater or lessor degree by making their membership aware of the program's importance and encouraging its use in their areas of influence.

block partnership
council of negro women
dallas association for parent education
dallas council of churches
dallas independent school district
grand prairie daily news
head start centers
jack & jill of america, inc.
west irving improvement association

FUTURE PLANS

survey

we plan to contact every home in the target communities where there are preschool children, using either a precinct breakdown or the census from the public schools, to ask if they are viewing sesame street.

the workers will come from the dal-tex neighborhood youth corps. this is a year-round government program for employment of in-school youth. they are paid $1.40/hour and will be able to work 30 hours per week from june 1 to mid-august. we already employ one worker on sesame street year round.

a concerned volunteer group has indicated they will help provide outfits for the workers so that as they go through the communities, they will be walking advertisements for channel 13.

the outfits for the girls will consist of colorful pinafores and blouses and straw hats with matching bands, and sneakers. for the boys, we will have coordinated outfits to match the girls', with straw hats.

(see attached survey sheet)

sound truck

this would be used in conjunction with the survey. the truck would be brightly decorated and play sesame street music as it goes through the neighborhoods during the summer months when children are out.

we are approaching several dealers on the possibility of leasing the use of a truck, or perhaps donating it, for this three-month period.

billboards

for the coming season we think it is strategically important to have billboards in the target communities. to that end, we have secured information from middleton, inc. and have the cost figures for 48 billboards for one month. (see display)

paper cost	$ 600.00
space cost	2,520.00
	$3,120.00

Samplers - 30 Neighborhood Youth Corps - in uniform

KERA'S COMMUNITY SURVEY FOR SESAME STREET

Name______________________________

Address________________________Zip________

		Yes	No	Ages
Do you have	preschool children?	____	____	____
	children in grades 1 thru 3?	____	____	____

	Yes	No	Blk.&Wt.	Color
Do you have a television set?	____	____	____	____
Do your children watch sesame street?	____	____		

	Yes	No
Do you receive the parent/teacher guides?	____	____
If not, would you like to receive the guides?	____	____

What is your favorite program on Channel 13? ____________________

sesame street club

we would like to create a sesame street club having as members all youngsters, preschool and grades 1 thru 3. we hope to provide each member with:

membership card	- needs to be produced
club badge	- we have this already
sticker	- we have this already
record	- needs to be produced

cost: by recopress co., arlington, texas

lots of:	
	1,000 - $227.00
	5,000 - $723.00
	10,000 - $1,293.00
	over 10,000 - 10-3/4¢ each

price includes:

- stereo master disc
- stereo mother plates
- pressings in stereo on 45 rpm 7" discs
- labels - any design
- white sleeve
- boxes of 100

delivery time - 11 days to first 1,000

1,000 to 5,000 every day thereafter

cardboard replica of sesame street - needs to be produced

cost:		
	1,000	- $1,688
	5,000	- $5,887

milk carton advertising

the idea is to have a milk company advertise on its half-gallon and gallon containers and perhaps to pick up the cost for the sesame street club in this advertising package.

ethnic churches

we plan to keep in touch asking them to display posters, make announcements, etc.

certificates for nurseries

print certificates which can be displayed showing that a nursery is using sesame street as part of their program.

bookmarks

we are negotiating with the library to print 80,000 bookmarks to be distributed to all libraries to be given out in the month of september just before the fall programing of sesame street. the bookmark is designed to inform teenagers, adults and other library patrons of sesame street and channel 13.

viewing groups

this summer since teenagers are available and a number of them will be employed in community centers and recreation centers, churches, etc., we will work to establish viewing groups.

.....it seems that all the ingredients necessary for viewing groups are here:

1 - availability of preschoolers
2 - availability of neighborhood persons to guide them through their activities
3 - availability of places

new programing idea -- involving sesame street club members

precede sesame street with a show having children representing all ethnic groups. they will be taken on a magic carpet ride to visit children of other lands. the procedure will be to use film -- good film -- supplied by pan am, japanese tourist bureau, etc. other details are being worked out.

- children and host in a set
- take trips to other lands via ______for transportation
- use key insertion to move group into scene (film) zoom past them into black wall cut to film
- host tells about children and customs (narrates over film)
- comes out of film same way of transition as open
- talk and answer questions on trip
- cue to sesame street

school districts

during the summer months we want to again contact the school districts (including ft. worth area) and see if we can get sesame street incorporated as part of their curriculum in the fall.

opinion leaders

personal contact should be made because of their influence on named audience -- preschoolers:

state licensing inspectors
city fire marshall's office, fire inspectors
director of day care nurseries
community council of social agencies
greater dallas council of churches executive director
coordinating committee for community centers in geographical area
ethnic organizations
mayor's council of youth
salvation army
chamber of commerce (city, ethnic, suburban)
pta council
preshool pta leaders
county or area medical society
county or area osteopathic society
city health officer
county health officer
visiting nurses' association
planned parenthood officials
directors of large hospital outpatient departments, hospital social workers
county or area social workers' association
health and science museum

national council of jewish women, local officers
united churchwomen
women's council
mothers of twins club
school teachers (parochial, private and public)
urban league
hew officials
university or college education department
    preschool instructors
human relations council
north texas council of governments

# # #

number of individual names in dallas area	2,543
number of individual names in surrounding towns	1,463
total names	4,006
number of guides sent to individuals in dallas area	9,922
number of guides sent to individuals in surrounding towns	6,146
total guides	16,068

these figures do not represent guides sent to libraries, school districts and major distribution centers, and do not reflect additions over the past week.

Nobody gets killed on Sesame Street

Nobody has to.
There's room in this world for children's TV where nobody gets clubbed for fun. There's room on television for something that holds a child like a circus or the Fourth of July or a Sunday picnic.
There's room for Sesame Street.
A lot of room.
Every day at 9:00 and 5:00 PM.
Sesame Street comes alive on Channel 13 —
And stays alive for an entire hour.
Without fail.
A year's research with kids three to eight years old, and eight million dollars, guarantee it. Guaranteed to make learning a joy, and a joy out of learning. With the Muppets, Dick Van Dyke, Harry Belafonte, Carol Burnett, James Earl Jones, Lou Rawls, Burt Lancaster. Guaranteed because scores of children's experts put it together, with the help of the kids themselves.
Today, share Sesame Street with your kids.
While they're still kids.

KERA, CHANNEL 13

Sesame Street every day at 9:00 AM and 5:00 PM.

this child may be lost

This pre-school child may be lost before he has a chance. By the time he starts school, two-thirds of his intellectual development has occurred. Help him find the fun of learning now. Send him to ....

CHANNEL 13' **SESAME STREET**, a new kind of children's program, **9:00 a.m. & 5:00 p.m.** Monday-Friday

For Free Parent/Teacher Guide

FILL OUT AND RETURN ENCLOSED CARD.

KERA TV 13
3000 HARRY HINES BOULEVARD/DALLAS, TEXAS 75201/214-747-0641

the United States Office of Education, which is developing plans for an activity on a a vast scale similar to that of the field coordinators. This can be seen as a validation of the CTW field work. It realized the hope that other organizations can take over some of the Workshop projects so that it can be free to experiment with new approaches. State governments are likewise becoming involved in the prototype viewing centers set in motion by field coordinators. Joan Cooney sees this government interest as an interim step toward universal preschool and day-care centers.

How far the field services operation has traveled since those first stumbling, experimental days of 1969 is evidenced in the description of its purpose in the 1970-71 issue of the "National Utilization Program Manual," now over 100 pages long. The manual stresses the true utilization aspects of the coordinator's role, as opposed to the promotional emphasis of the first year:

> The major concern of "utilization" is to maximize direct participation of the target viewing audience through planned follow-up activities which will reinforce what has been viewed.
>
> Simply stated, then, utilization is the development of materials and techniques to create an effective follow-through program to increase the child's awareness and understanding of the instructional message presented on "Sesame Street."

Noting that building the audience had to be the focus of the first year's efforts, the manual states:

> This goal of a thorough parent-child involvement in the follow-up process could not be fully developed during the first year, but is a major goal of utilization efforts in the second season.
>
> A key element of the second year will be the development of inner-city viewing centers.
>
> Combining the broadcast program with parent workshops, person-to-person contacts, other forms of active participation, and distribution of supportive educational materials, the "Sesame Street" viewing center will present a highly visible model to help parents in teaching their preschool children. The "Sesame Street" viewing center is offered as a resource for concerned parents. . .it is a supplemental measure which is aimed initially to reach those children who do not have the advantage of being enrolled in established preschool programs. . . who, because of crowded conditions are unable to attend existing preschool programs and must remain at home during the day.

Departmental management, sharpened by experience, is now in a position to provide concrete guidance to the field coordinators and to prepare a specific goals and objectives statement for the year.

This statement succinctly characterizes the thrust of the field services operation during its second year:

> The primary goal of CTW's utilization program is to achieve maximum penetration of "Sesame Street" through highly concentrated activities in inner-city and non-English speaking communities by implementing the following objectives:
>
> 1. increasing viewing of "Sesame Street" by preschool children in day-care and Head Start centers and pre-kindergarten programs.

2. developing the widest possible distribution of the "Sesame Street Magazine" and other materials in target communities.
3. stimulating establishment of neighborhood viewing centers and home viewing groups in target communities.
4. orienting parents and center personnel in target areas to the goals and objectives of "Sesame Street" through workshops, special training materials, etc.
5. providing day-care and Head Start "Sesame Street" viewing centers and public school prekindergarten programs with television sets to the greatest extent possible through conducting an "Open Sesame Street" campaign.
6. stimulating direct and indirect involvement and participation of schools, political, labor, religious, community, civic, and volunteer groups in support of utilization activities on a national and local level, such as the procurement of TV sets, distribution of the "Sesame Street Magazine," and supplying of resources for model viewing centers and special projects.
7. compiling and analyzing utilization experiences in target areas that influence the effectiveness of "Sesame Street," and evaluating the effectiveness of utilization techniques and projects.
8. serving as a resource and fostering local self-help and self-promoting activities in connection with broadening audiences for "Sesame Street" in cities without a full-time utilization staff.

WHAT UTILIZATION MEANS TO THE DISADVANTAGED PARENT

Stage one is letting the parent know there is something to be seen by her youngster. Stage two, properly called "utilization," is helping her to reinforce the lessons of the program by working with her own child. As already indicated, the CTW field staff regard this aspect of their work as the most significant. It is hard work, done mostly at night, calling for idealism and energy, combined with an ability to communicate with parents to whom the very idea that they can teach their children anything may come as a surprising notion. As demonstrated by CTW staff members Brenda Belton and Carol Brooks, the communication requires patience, humor and intensive training in the fundamentals of "Sesame Street." In the experience with the black and Puerto Rican parents, for many of whom this becomes an adventure in self-discovery, the long-range social impact and meaning of this television project take on new significance.

Mrs. Davis comments:

> We feel that reinforcement of the program is important. It is very important to get the message over to the parents—particularly poor parents—that their belief that they cannot teach their children is wrong. It can be done by parents at home or in groups. They do not have to sit down an hour a day and start "teaching." As they go to the store, they can help the child recognize colors, letters, make associations, and so forth. We have to help them understand what they can do, how much they can do. We know that people who are concerned with survival—food, shelter and health—tend to establish their priorities in that way. It doesn't leave much time to think about: "What else does my child need? Or I should be talking to my child so that this child's experience will

be heightened and his horizons broadened and he will know things that other children know?" Many times they may feel inadequate. They may not be around people who deal in abstractions. So they may believe they shouldn't do this. They also believe the myth that they shouldn't teach their children when they get into school. A good part of our effort has been devoted to dispelling that myth and showing them what they can do at home, that they can teach the child. This has grown into teaching them what early childhood behavior is.

You can't reach every single parent. But you can reach some of them. If you have children together in a group watching the program, and you have interested people there at the time who will systematically reinforce the show. . . it's one way of getting them involved. We don't have enough personnel to get to every parent. . . . It is easier to bring people into a facility. Then you have a ready-made nucleus to work from.

A couple of years ago there were some 85,000 minority community children who were not in any organized preschool program in New York City—or Manhattan. Those are the children who may or may not have opportunities for interaction with parents or other adults. They might come from homes where no one ever talks to them at all. As the "Sesame Street" generations increase, children in that circumstance are really going to be out of luck.

One of the reasons for getting the parent to get the child to watch the show every day is for her to understand what the child is learning and how important it is. So any kind of device we can use to bring those parents together so that we can get this information to them, we feel is a plus. The basic technique is to set up a viewing center, so that the children can go there and have the experience of viewing with other children. You get the parents to some degree anyway because they bring the children, and you have an opportunity to deal with them. It's a slow process. It doesn't happen overnight.

But they are interested. One of the great misconceptions that people have is that because you're poor, because you're black, because you're Spanish, you're not interested in your child. It's not seen as a problem that exists because you're concerned with survival, and so everything else has to stand back until you solve those problems. For example, teachers have asked us: "How have you been able to get parents to come to school for such a meeting?" We answer: "Because this is for their children. They are concerned. We welcome them. The schools don't."

When parents come to school, it's a "we-they" relationship, not a free exchange. "We are the Authorities. We know what is best for your child." It's "you don't, you haven't, because you haven't, your child is bad, etc." And we're saying to the parents: "You're very important, and you're the person who is your child's first teacher and your home is your child's first school. And this show has as its sole purpose helping you to help your child. If you can use the show in this way, then when your child starts school, you will understand better what you should expect from that school. You will be on a more

> equal basis with the teacher." There's a big mystique around the school. It scares people who feel inadequate. They don't know it's a mystique. They're unhappy and upset. They know something is deadly wrong. They know some of the specific things that are wrong. They don't understand what children are taught in school.
>
> One of the problems in a minority community is for the parent to read to the child. It gets to be a matter of time and priority. A woman who might be working and has several children, has all that shopping and laundry and cooking, and so forth, to do, is not going to sit down and read a story to a 3-year-old. And they don't feel they read well enough—they feel inadequate. But most black people talk about things that happen in their family, their parents, their other relatives, about how life is or was in the South or wherever. . . .This kind of talk is a form of storytelling. They don't feel that the books written for young children are relevant to them. . . Tom, Dick and Jane. . . the house with the white picket fence and beautiful green lawn and shutters. . . but telling a story about grandmother so-and-so, where she lives, and weaving in all sorts of things, is just as good, in my opinion, for the child. Once you tell them that, you see their eyes light up. They say to themselves: "This is something I can do." If you say to them that this has just as much validity as reading in helping the child to understand that this is how children live in other places, knowing about other kinds of experiences, then it brings in a whole other dimension. It's something they can do when they go to the store, wash the dishes, put the child to bed. It's very simple, but someone has to show them. And once you start showing them they think of other things themselves. It gets to be a very exciting thing to see what this kind of thing generates and what they then begin to do.

FIELD SERVICES ORGANIZATION

As the departmental rundown suggests, 1971 saw an emphasis on building headquarters staff support for the field operation. Typically, whereas at the beginning there was minimal central direction and involvement, with the station coordinators left pretty much on their own, once the staff concept was adopted, it became necessary to follow its logic and build a field headquarters operation which could combine centralized planning and guidance with decentralized implementation through regionally responsible field coordinators. That is the system employed at this time. As almost naturally occurs in such cases, once management looks at the field operation from the new point of view, it becomes aware of such needs as improving communication between the two parts—particularly in order to insure vital informational input from the field—establishing overall guidelines and specific goals in common, providing information and materials to the field coordinator, providing a system of direct contact back to headquarters to expedite handling of operating problems, building flexibility into the headquarters setup so advantage can be taken of special opportunities, providing training opportunities on a continuing basis.

TRAINING

In the fall of 1971, a four-person team was preparing the following training tools:

1. *A Community Relations Introductory Kit:* will contain basic information for the coordinators to use with community groups and individuals in the form of flip charts, visuals, film, "Sesame Street" books, and a brochure. The visuals will illustrate various curriculum areas of the

program; the film, "A Taste of Sesame," is conceived as a collection of clever, illustrative program bits; the brochure is "Sesame Street in the Community."

2. *Coordinators' Training Kit:* a handbook which will define the coordinator's functions and responsibilities; a list of how-to things, such as recruiting volunteers, conducting workshops, registering children and volunteers; registration forms; training films; and activities booklet.
3. *Volunteers' Treasure Chest:* an illustrated how-to-do-it handbook for volunteers with lesson plans and curriculum goals; puppets and skits; a record; a film; puzzles; some expendables, such as ditto masters and books.
4. *"Sesame Street" at Home:* materials for using the program at home—an activity sheet with script synopses; a list of the things being taught on each program, with suggested follow-up activities the mother can carry out with things in the home; the materials will be multicultural.

Plans were also being made for training of the field coordinators themselves.

RESOURCES

This component concentrates on gathering data on all resources, national, regional, and local, that can be potentially tied in with the field coordinator's efforts: federal programs, public school systems, preschool programs, corporate efforts for education, museum programs, children's hospitals, and clinics that could use the programs. Such data will be sent out regularly to the field coordinators. This section is also exploring ways to work with home-bound pupils, retired teachers and paraprofessionals in order to extend the CTW's effectiveness. A resources directory was printed in 1970 by the organization and is being updated for 1971-1972.

MODEL VIEWING CENTER

Located at headquarters, this little room is a laboratory designed to develop and test new materials, such as the books and toys developed by the nonbroadcast materials department. The staff is preparing a weekly newsletter with script synopses, daily lesson plans, and ways to use cleanup time and free time in the local viewing centers; these will be sent to the coordinators a week in advance of each program.

MATERIALS

This section is concerned with the supply and maintenance of the tools and equipment the coordinator needs in order to function, such as film projectors, furniture, and so forth.

RESEARCH

This component, under Ashley Higginbotham, studies utilization from the point of view of effectiveness. At the time of the fall meeting of the coordinators, it was compiling a report on a Neighborhood Youth Corps summer project for the Department of Labor—the project involved teenagers as teachers in viewing centers. It was also planning an in-school survey through Florida State University of the utilization of "The Electric Company."

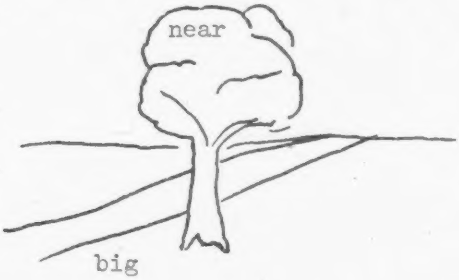
SPECIAL ACTIVITIES DEPARTMENT

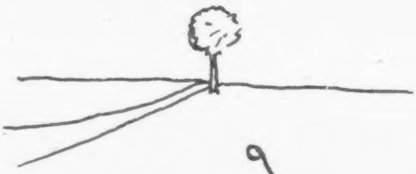
This five-member team provides materials and speakers in response to requests to the national office that come from outside normal field coordinator channels and initiates and works with special projects. As 1971 drew to a close, the department was experiencing a burgeoning involvement with colleges and universities, which are beginning to give class credit to students for working in viewing centers.

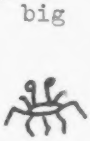
REACHING THE DISADVANTAGED

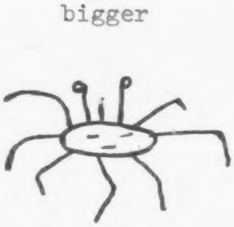
Excerpt from:
"Ideas for: Art, Visual Aids, Music, Ways to Move, Storytelling, Games, Drama" by
CTW Field Services Department

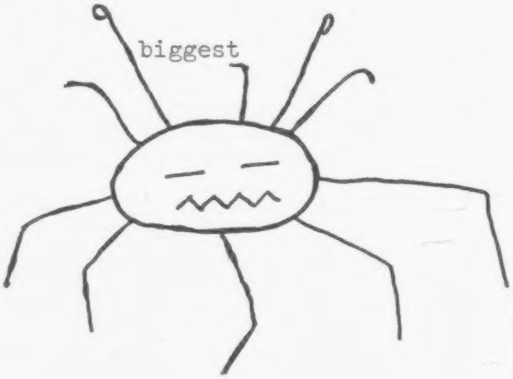
Use pictures for showing ideas such as:





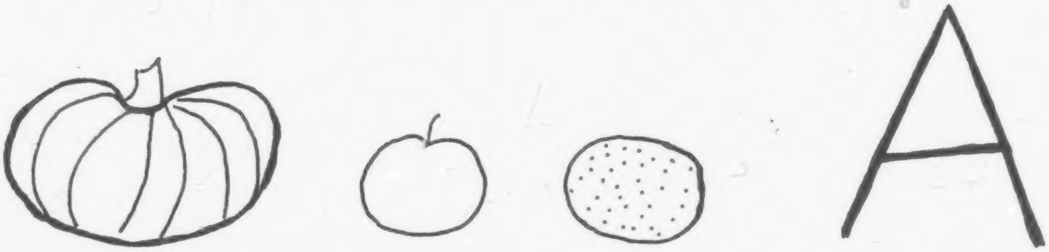






Make up a board which can say:

"Which of these things is not like the other?"



Show pictures of different emotions:

faces that are sad, happy, angry, surprised, mad, frightened.
or show them a face and ask them how this person looks and why?

Look out for pictures of people in your neighborhood:

the policeman, the fireman, the nurse, the dentist, the storekeeper.

Pictures of families, of jobs that mothers and fathers do, the different types of homes that people live in, not only ones like this country but also an igloo, grass hut and so on.

People do things together, they help each other - look for pictures of children playing, men working, people in an office and so on.

Southern Methodist University in Dallas has a program in which 10 white undergraduate students are working with 22 black preschoolers. Dillard University in New Orleans is giving credit to junior class majors in early childhood education. California State College, Hayward, was setting up a class in black studies assigned to viewing centers. Other institutions planning to go into viewing center programs were Morgan State College in Baltimore, Maryland; Jackson State College in Jackson, Mississippi; and Southern University in Louisiana.

The Los Angeles Unified School District, together with the CTW coordinator, sponsored a two-week workshop for teacher and parent leaders from five school districts who attended as paid workers to prepare themselves as a cadre to teach others. By June, 1972, several thousand people will have gone through the training process, according to the plan. In Pittsburgh, California, the San Francisco coordinator is running a training program for preschool teachers. Also in Los Angeles, members of a Mexican-American organization composed of students of California State College—Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan—are working for college credit in the viewing centers.

Loyola University, New Orleans, was on the hunt for $250,000 in funding to train teachers and students to open viewing centers, for credit and stipends. It is an area with no kindergartens. The aim is to open centers in all the schools. If this project succeeds, it will be a "big breakthrough," according to the Workshop staff.

In Appalachia, the Tennessee State Department of Education has been meeting with the CTW Appalachian coordinator in Virginia, to set up "Sesame Street"—oriented kindergartens. Under the plan, area university departments of education would give credits to student teachers who worked in the kindergartens.

A national program is under way in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Labor Manpower Administration, based on the Neighborhood Youth Corps project which began in the summer of 1970. It involved CTW training of 250 young people with limited educational background and vocational outlook. The following year, with U.S. Department of Labor sponsorship, the operation was expanded to 15 cities, including migrant labor camps in Florida, and Hampton-Norfolk, Virginia. The others were coordinator cities. There were 1500 enrollees. In the next stage the local sponsoring agencies will assign the young people on a year-round basis. They work in the centers under supervision of adults, who were trained for the purpose by a CTW touring team. The 1972 plan calls for an expansion of the program.

CTW utilization energies are turning to the Indian population, as well. In South Dakota, the Rosebud Project involves parent-volunteers in viewing center operation on an Indian reservation covering 4 1/2 million acres. Another program is active on the Ignacio Indian Reservation.

In an Appalachia schoolroom. "Sesame Street" materials being distributed in Appalachia.

The department is also assisting coordinators with special events, as in the case of Black Expo, held in Chicago in 1971. CTW was represented by an exhibit provided by headquarters.

Although "The Electric Company" was too new and as yet untested by broadcast experience for a utilization program to get under way, a possible portent of the future was already visible shortly after it reached the screen in a Philadelphia project. Opportunities Industrialization Center, headed by the Reverend Leon Sullivan, is training adults and older teenagers in a CTW pilot project using "The Electric Company" as a remedial reading tool. Many of those who come in for skills training are functionally illiterate. If successful, the program will be adopted in the 10 largest cities, and then in all four cities in which OIC operates. Costs are borne by the Center. Their remedial reading teachers were trained by CTW coordinators in "The Electric Company" techniques.

AUDIO CASSETTE AND RADIO POSSIBILITIES

New media possibilities are being explored. For example, the Appalachia coordinator is experimenting with audio cassettes in an effort to cope with the poverty and isolation of the four-county area. He provides cassettes to the parents who attend his biweekly workshop, recording instructions, reinforcement activities, early childhood behavior, tips on beautifying the home. The parent is supplied with a blank tape so she can record what she does with the child and so that the child can hear himself. The tapes are then brought to a workshop for the other parents to listen to. In November, the coordinator was working on a master tape for evaluation and review. The program is being conducted with the cooperation of the Appalachian Education Commission and other groups.

Radio is being considered by the CTW for possible use in rural and mountain areas and poverty regions in other parts of the world where radio sets may be, or can be made available, in the absence of TV sets. At the request of the USOE, the Workshop is trying to develop a radio plan to supplement the broadcast in Alaska's remote villages. There may be possibilities in the 4 1/2-million-acre Rosebud Indian Reservation, which is totally closed in during the winter snows. It is an area of 80 percent unemployment, according to Mrs. Davis. There is desperate poverty. A local community action agency bought seven TV sets for community halls, but people cannot get to them during the winter snow period—they cannot even get to the schools. Another radio opportunity may exist in the migrant worker world, where workers may not have opportunities to watch television, but where they may well have portable transistor radios in their pockets playing while they are on the job. The numbers who might be served in this way could well be in the millions.

Paul Elkins, Field Services Coordinator, in Appalachia.

In some areas where the TV program cannot be received, the magazine has been used alone. This suggests that a combination of magazine with radio or cassette in such places may be useful.

PROBLEM OF SUSTAINING PARENT INTEREST

As the number of viewing centers increases—it is now well into the hundreds, apparently—and parent experience provides a fresh input of insight into field needs, it becomes evident that a problem inherent in the center concept is that of sustaining parental interest and enthusiasm over time. The parent volunteers need the support of a continuing flow of materials they can put to immediate use.

This department is therefore now supplying the centers with synopses of the programs and lesson plans for every day of the week. In Dallas, the coordinator distributes 600 copies a week.

The volunteer recruitment job is not easy, according to Mrs. Davis, because it must focus on *poor* people, whose primary concern is sheer survival:

> If that problem didn't exist, we could get plenty of volunteers on the lower economic levels. The priority is there, which is why we're trying to use Neighborhood Youth Corps youngsters on stipend and people from other funded projects. That is why we're concerned with making their experience in the centers open-ended, so that it can lead to future employment—a major aspect that we are moving into this year. We are talking with schools and colleges, with the administrations of Head Start programs and day-care councils, to see how our volunteers can qualify for paid employment in Head Start centers. So far 20 people from our program have been hired by Head Start centers, who did not qualify before, and some as teacher aides in public schools. In California some have gone back to school and have received credit for the hours spent in the "Sesame Street" viewing centers. I think that eventually all this will be the biggest thing that comes out of these efforts—if we can develop enough outlets for them. It will be a strong motivating factor.

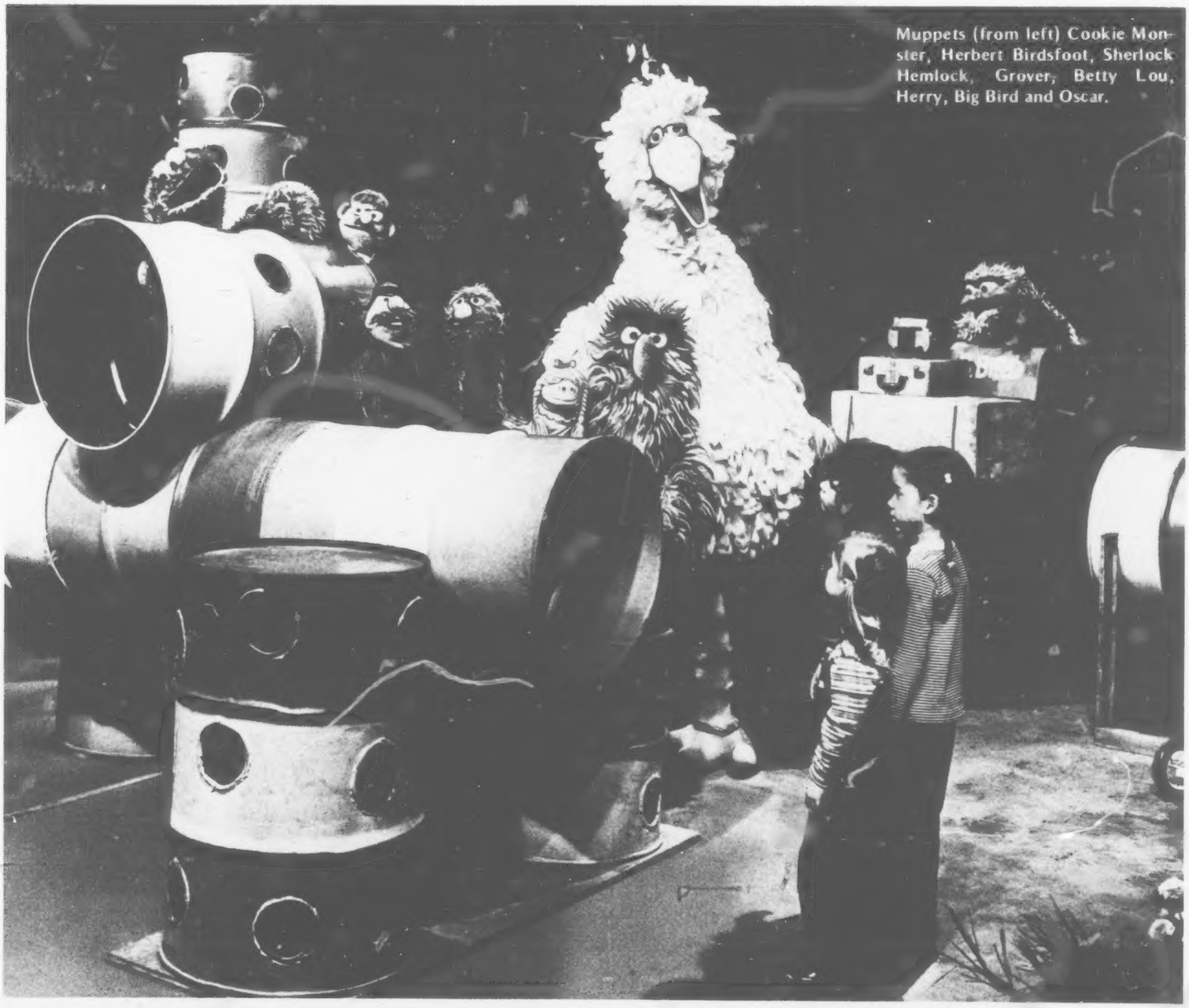
Mrs. Davis carefully notes that all of this activity is experimental. The CTW has no intention of operating on any continuing major scale in this area, but rather hopes that other organizations will follow the lead once the validity of a project has been demonstrated. She cites as a significant case the planned operation of the Office of Education for fiscal 1972. With funds from the School Assistance Act, the USOE will establish learning resource centers in public schools in 15 areas. Each center will hire an early childhood coordinator who will be the bridge between school and parent. He will train parents in the goals and objectives of "Sesame Street." Parents will receive part-time payment for operating centers at home. In short, the Office of Education will do on a large scale what the CTW has shown to be practical on an experimental basis.

UTILIZATION POTENTIAL—AND LIMITS

It is clear that something important has been started in this country as a result of the CTW efforts to realize the full potential of "Sesame Street" by mounting a vigorous off-the-air field effort shaped to the needs of the target areas. A possibly greater challenge awaits the Workshop in this area, as it assesses the progress of "The Electric Company," for, in this instance, an immense universe is involved embracing the public school system along with parents and children. Clearly, a national effort of major dimension will be in order if that program's effectiveness is to be adequately enhanced. From this point of view, the reported project of the Office of Education is in line with the educational requirements of tomorrow.

The danger exists of such activities growing to the point where they begin to take on a life of their own. Fundamentally, they are still extensions of something whose essence is its expression on the television screen. Ultimately, that is the bedrock, and its character and quality must remain the priority concerns. This becomes particularly important as off-the-air activities assume increasing organizational stature, generating demands for enlarged staffs and budgets. Michael Dann's comment to the field coordinators during their fall meeting is very much to the point. He urged the coordinators and their staffs to: constantly expose yourself to the vitality of the two programs the people will be seeing. The Workshop's sole right to exist is what's on the box. The success of the shows is your conduit to success.

What remains to be added is only that just as it is important not to underrate the demands on manpower and resources of a field campaign, so it would be wise to anticipate a budget emphasis that hitherto has seldom even been given consideration. Perhaps the most important observation that might be made at this point in the history of educational media is that where an educational television effort is being undertaken which is aimed at a specific target audience that needs off-the-air attention, a field service operation, properly staffed and budgeted, is best considered not a supplementary or ancillary activity, but a *basic element in the total project,* and dealt with, as such, in the original planning.



Muppets (from left) Cookie Monster, Herbert Birdsfoot, Sherlock Hemlock, Grover, Betty Lou, Herry, Big Bird and Oscar.

CHAPTER TEN

GETTING THE PROGRAM ON THE AIR

A television program does not perform its service until it is transmitted. Such transmission neither occurs automatically, nor is it guaranteed. Unless the method of *distribution,* as the trade term goes, is determined in advance and some reasonable assurance obtained before production begins that it can find a desirable place in the schedule of the national or local television system, the feasibility of the project may be open to serious question. Moreover, the real possibilities of scheduling may have serious consequences for content, length and frequency of production. This arises from the limited availability of spectrum space, and therefore program time, on the nation's public television system, a condition that can be expected to prevail until such time as cable transmission makes multichannel availability the norm and permits the transmission of several noncommercial signals into an area at the same time.

From a real-time standpoint, this means than an educational undertaking seeking to reach a public through the television screen will be forced to limit itself conceptually to the present over-the-air system for the foreseeable future. Cable industry estimates see a maximum national penetration of 50 percent by the end of this decade, with the concentration in the smaller and middle-sized cities, so long as cable is permitted to develop under competitive market conditions without large-scale government subsidy for installation and maintenance.

THE "SESAME STREET" CLEARANCE CAMPAIGN

During the period of "Sesame Street's" development (the pre-PBS period), NET was the nearest thing to a network in public television. The stations were its affiliates, receiving their national programs through the tape duplicating operation that NET had established in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Later, as the Corporation for Public Broadcasting's interconnection efforts mounted, more and more NET programming began to be distributed in this form. NET President John F. White was enthusiastic about the "Sesame Street" undertaking and lent the good offices of his organization to the task of winning over the stations.

But Joan Cooney, herself from the public television field, soon found that even NET's station relations department was not the complete answer, for the elements in the community that would be decisive in the matter, the local school boards, generally preferred to deal with her, as project head, or with her executive assistant, Robert Davidson, whom she had hired at the very beginning of the project. In 1969 she told an interviewer that she had not anticipated the seriousness of the clearance problem, that it was consuming much of her time and energies and generating rather heavy travel expenses. Morever, she was of the opinion that future educational ventures of this kind would face similar problems. [From an interview with Leon Morse, of Herman W. Land Associates, for a report on "National Program Options" for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 1969.]

She and Davidson decided that time and finances permitted personal coverages of the top 25 markets only. Since the majority of the target population was being reached by these stations, this limitation appeared justifiable. Davidson recalls:

> This is really why Joan hired me in the beginning. She knew that someone was needed who could go around and convince educational stations and their affiliated educational groups that this was a program they ought to air and that they ought to air it in optimum time in terms of the target audience–9:00 or 10:00 A.M. Joan and I split the country up. Joan happens to have family in the West and knows the West, so she covered the major stations there. I have family in the South and know the South.
>
> The priorities were simple. We made our own list of the top metropolitan markets and stopped at number 25, which

> happened to be San Digeo. There were then 180 stations. Where is the population of the country? That was our guideline. But every now and then someone from another market would ask us to come see them. Nashville, for example. Nashville is not in the top 25 markets. We went if we possibly could. Jacksonville is another example. I went to both of those places. Joan had examples in the West. We visited about 40 stations, I guess. We had time, because we had time for everything, and it was totally divorced from the production effort.
>
> Usually it was because the manager felt he had a chance of success in the morning time and needed our help. We went everywhere we could go. Always it was the school people. They were always the key. There never was any point in meeting with the managers—they wanted to air the show. If we got a sense, as I did in Nashville, for example, that the station manager would help in solving this problem, then I would go in an instant, the next day. Kansas City is another example. It's in the top 25. The station manager called me and said: "I think we can do this, if you can come out and talk to us," and the answer had to be yes.

There were many difficult markets. Clearly, the school systems are the determining factors. In the "Sesame Street" case, moreover, they were being asked to accept it as a substitute in many instances for their own instructional material, a program aimed at an audience for which they really had no professional responsibility. The Davidson account of one of his visits illustrates the kind of problem the daytime project may be expected to be confronted with, at least for the foreseeable future.

A manager in a large northeastern city had asked Davidson to come to his city, saying: "Of course we will find the time to put this program on the air. But I would not want to do that in such a way as to either leave out or infuriate our school people."

Davidson spent the first two days talking with the manager and the program people. At that time, there was still nothing to show, just an information booklet and a great deal of enthusiasm. The result—negative:

> We failed to get the schedule we wanted. I went out to talk with the manager and took him and his program people out to dinner. They all loved the idea, as they always did everywhere. They were impressed with the kind of techniques they knew we were going to use. And the budget impressed them. We talked a lot about money. We wanted two things: We wanted "Sesame Street" on, and on some time in the morning, which to us is prime time for preschool kids—it was distinctly supplementary in the late afternoon. The pattern across the country was that there was no problem getting an afternoon showing. The problem was always the morning.
>
> The next day I had a long meeting with the station's curriculum committee, which was composed of about 25 people from the school system with which she [the station's school services director] worked. They were primarily administrators and audiovisual directors in school systems. . .I don't know how many teachers there were, but it's not terribly usual to find many teachers in a group like this. The director worked with this group to do three things: to set the daytime schedule; to acquire programs; to produce programs locally. Without the money the station was getting through the school sys-

> tems, "Sesame Street" would not have been on the air in the daytime.
>
> The main argument that we ran into consistently was: This was a preschool program and we are school systems charged to spend the bulk of our resources dealing with children in kindergarten through grade 12, and both of these translate to television time. "Sesame Street" was an hour. If it had been twenty minutes, it would have been on in the morning on every station in the country. It was an hour because it had to do with the amount of television preschool kids watched and, it was impossible to coordinate that with school systems' needs—it was a media fact, not a school fact. What ultimately happened was that the curriculum committee voted on their schedule, and they voted *not* to air "Sesame Street" in the morning. It went on at noon, I believe, that year. Noon is a rough time for preschool kids.

THE "SESAME STREET" CLEARANCE RECORD

The flying travelers, Cooney and Davidson, did manage to overcome much of the school resistance, but they were by no means totally successful. The national schedule that finally emerged was characterized by a combination of morning and afternoon periods. Fortunately, there were enough morning periods to cover the majority of the target population. Total national morning clearance was 48 percent of the stations, mostly in the large metropolitan areas containing about 60 percent of the population. "The Electric Company," on the other hand, enjoys a 100 percent clearance in the desired day-part. That is because it is a half-hour, post-school day program focused on the curriculum, according to Davidson. He adds:

> It points the way toward the battle you have to face if you want to place a daytime television program at sometime before four in the afternoon. I don't think either Joan or I quite anticipated the difficulties.

THE NEED FOR GOOD STATION RELATIONS

The requirements of distribution are only one of several reasons why it is important to maintain good relations with the stations. As dealt with in the section on Information and Utilization, the *handling* of the program in the community is important. It is most successful when station and project have close relations based on mutual cooperation and confidence. PBS has established a station relations department. The stations, after all, are the constituency of that institution. Still, useful and important as that department undoubtedly is, it is probably wise to make a special effort to supplement PBS relations with efforts of one's own.

This has become accepted as a matter of daily need by the CTW, which now has its own station relations operation in the person of Lynne de Vries. Mrs. de Vries is the person stations get in touch with when they want information about programs, scheduling, etc., to discuss local promotion, visits, special station needs, relations with community groups, and so forth. Frequently, she will serve as Joan Cooney's alternate in addressing meetings throughout the country. She and Robert Davidson work together closely on such matters. As the CTW has achieved success and high exposure, such activities have increased in volume, calling for continuing attention on a full-time basis.

All of this seems a long way from creating and producing a television show. It is an essential component of any model of successful operation on the CTW level, however. This does not mean that a full-blown station relations operation is required at the beginning. But it should be anticipated and planned for in the organization that will emerge as the project develops. At the outset, the project director and immediate staff have little choice but to put their personal energies to work in this area, as the flying station visits of the Cooney-Davidson team indicate, it may be unavoidable. What is important in such a case is separating this effort from the production itself. This does not mean that occasionally a producer may not be called on to help in a given, critical instance, but, as a rule, the interests of the project are probably best served by insulating the production team from these problems.

THE PUBLIC BROADCASTING SERVICE—PBS

The starting point of the system is the public television station, of which there are 211 operating. Whether a program is national or local in aim, it reaches the public from the same station transmitter. The only difference is in how it is delivered to the station. It may be shipped as a tape or film in a can, as a *syndicated* program, or it may be sent from a production center by electronic signal via coaxial cable, as a *network* program. In public television, the word "network" is frowned upon as suggestive of unwanted centralization. The system prefers the term "interconnection," which suggests a pattern of station entities that are joined together by wire. Here we shall use the terms interchangeably, depending on the need.

The system of interconnection is the producer's access to the national public. It is new, having come into existence as a daily operating entity only in January, 1971, and is rapidly achieving recognition and acceptance as the Public Broadcasting Service, or PBS. Although many people tend to think of it as simply the equivalent of the commercial network system, it is quite different. To begin with, the commercial networks, ABC, CBS, NBC, are headquartered in New York. The PBS is headquartered in Washington, D.C. [The feed-point is the Hughes' network facility in New York, but this is a temporary arrangement, the plan being to feed the programs from Washington, when the facilities are available.] More important, the decision-making structures are radically different.

In commercial network television the network management and its program department shape the schedule and determine which programs are to be aired nationally. The network contracts directly with producers and distributors for the bulk of what it presents, or engages in production itself, particularly in news and public affairs. In order to obtain station *clearance* the network pays it a portion of the income it derives from the sale of advertising. Under license rules the station is free to reject the program, if it so wishes, and this frequently happens when stations decide to air local "specials" or to substitute their own feature films for those fed to them by the network.

A recent FCC regulation, known as the "prime-time rule," limits a station from accepting more than three hours of programming from a network source during the prime time hours of any evening. The usual network schedule covers 8:00 to 11:00 P.M., eastern time. A substantial portion of the daytime schedules, not subject to similar limitation by FCC regulation, is provided by the networks. The periods in between are filled by the station in the forms of feature films, syndicated programs on tape or film, news, and occasionally, local production. These periods are known as "station time." The programs scheduled in station time are said to be "station originated." This calls for a station programming operation that functions as a local counterpart to the national.

DECENTRALIZED PROGRAM CONTROL

The new interconnection system of the noncommercial sector attempts to avoid the centralized single-center decision making process of the commercial. To begin with, the PBS, which is not a grant-making institution, is forbidden to produce, or cause to be produced directly, the programs that it feeds. This is the prerogative of the eight National Production Centers. Six are public television stations: New York (NET), Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Washington, D.C. The seventh is the Children's Television Workshop, the eighth, the newly established National News and Public Affairs Center in the capital. Each National Production Center is allocated a time period for which it is responsible and which it fills with programming which it decides on and controls. The aggregate programming produced by these centers represents the regular national program service provided by the PBS.

Theoretically, the PBS is supposed to function as a "traffic control" mechanism only, with program decision making decentralized. However, since it is forced to make decisions when programs are competing for air-time, there tends to be some confusion about its actual function. Once the PBS management makes a programming decision, it begins to take on something of the conventional network character, as it does when it engages in strategic scheduling and audience promotion for the purposes of building national audiences.

PBS management reports to a board of directors made up of station representatives and a representative each of NET and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. It is thus station-controlled, on the theory that the interconnection system should be democratically responsive to its grassroots constitutency, the aim being to prevent domination of national programming by a central body and to provide multiple points of access to the national audiences. In actual fact, access is not limited to the National Production Centers, since PBS policy is to feed any program that it deems worthy of national distribution, regardless of station source. In other words, according to PBS program head, Sam Holt, there are now over "200 access points," meaning that any public television station in the country is entitled to offer its programming to the interconnection system. For the project operator, this means the theoretical possibility of entry is virtually unlimited.

PBS, however, will usually not deal directly with a producing organization—not true in the case of the CTW, which is recognized as a National Production Center in its own right. It prefers that the program or series be brought to it by one of the stations.

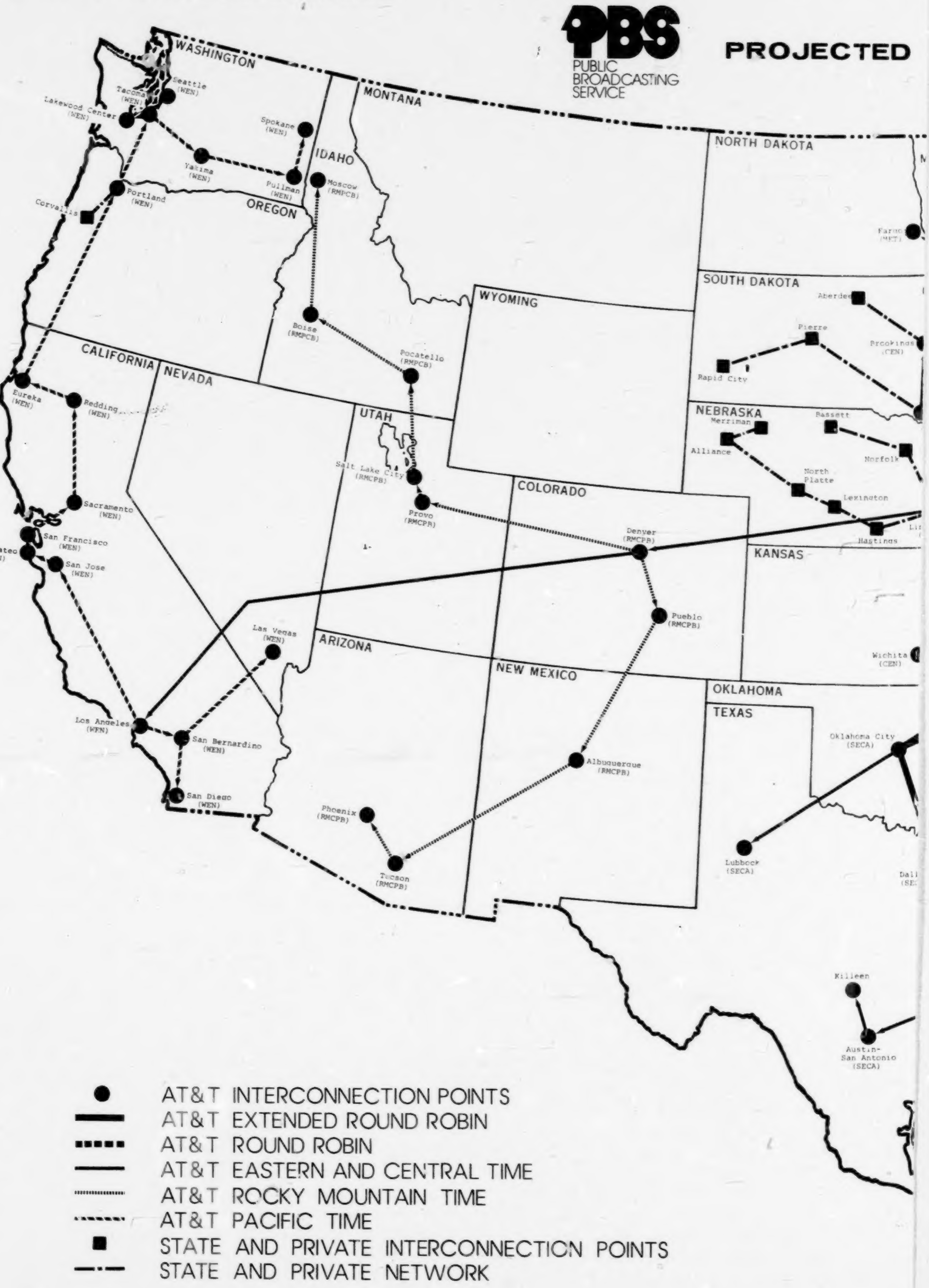
THE SYSTEM'S LIMITED CAPACITY

It is not access which is the problem in public television, but the system's capacity for programming. In its first year PBS has been able to develop and maintain a limited schedule, partly as a result of still-developing technical capability. The interconnection line service is not yet available on a full 24-hour basis and will not be until January, 1973. More important, the public system's operators feel that as a matter of principle, the national service should be limited in order to preserve as much local program discretion as possible. At the present time, the PBS nighttime schedule is fixed at two hours per night, 8:00 to 10:00 P.M., eastern time, weekdays—it was scheduled to start a sixth night, Sunday, January 6, 1971. This national service is free to the stations.

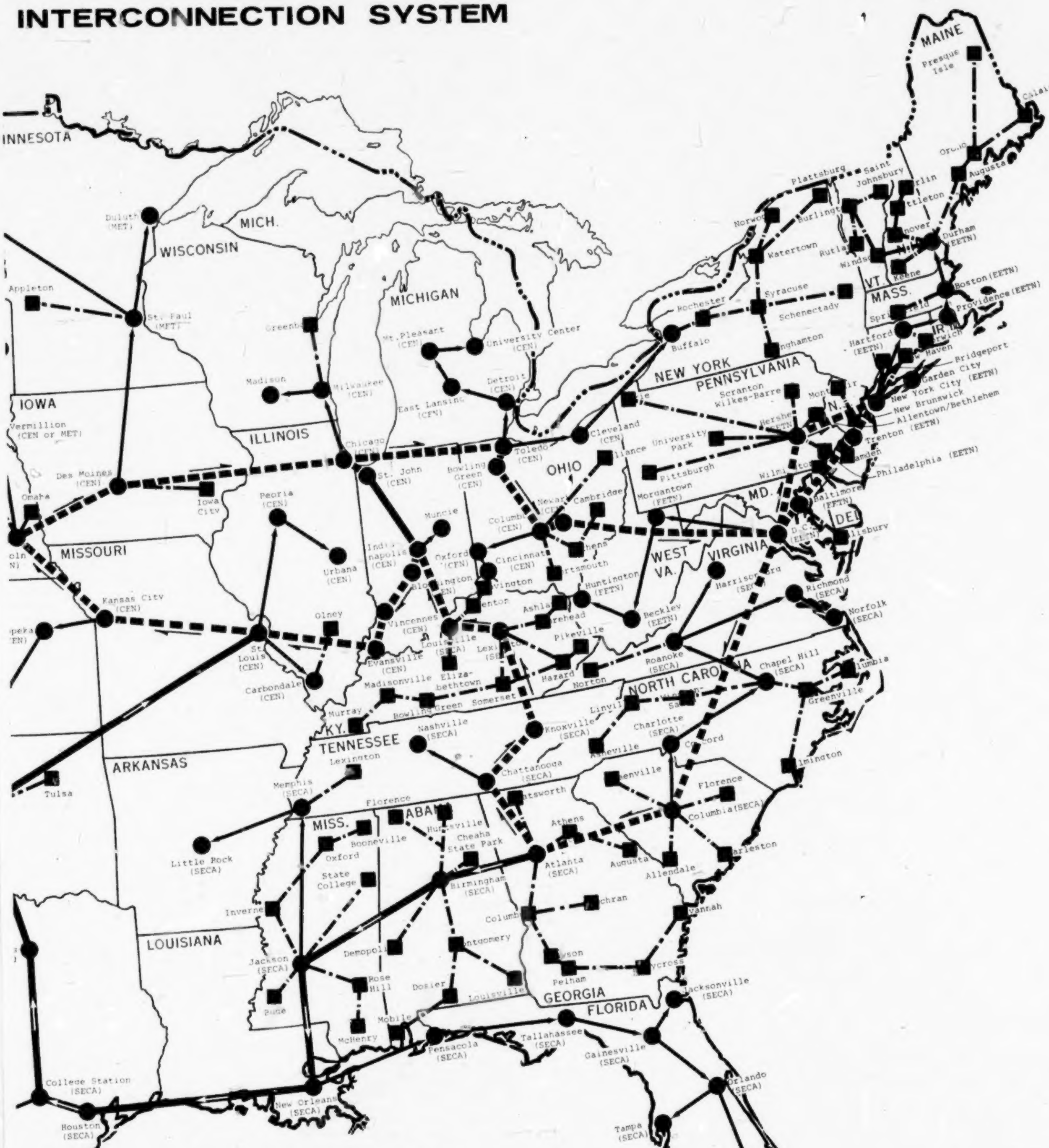
The daytime service is similarly limited. It consists of a morning feed of "Sesame Street," "Misterogers" and the new CTW series, "The Electric Company." There was no budget for an afternoon feed as 1971 drew to an end.

THE DAYTIME SCHOOL SERVICE

All other portions of the schedule are filled by the station, as in the commercial case. There is one profound difference, however, which points to the major constraint with which all new educational ventures aimed at some portion of the daytime audience must contend: the school service. An important function of many noncommercial stations is their transmission of educational programs to the public schools during the school day, thus accounting for the bulk of the daytime programming. This programming, as a rule, is determined by a committee of school representatives. The station plays a role, but content and scheduling are basically controlled by the school system. The programming itself may be obtained by the station from educational production centers or produced locally, either by the station or the school system.


PBS
PUBLIC BROADCASTING SERVICE
PROJECTED
WASHINGTON
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
IDAHO
OREGON
SOUTH DAKOTA
WYOMING
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
UTAH
NEBRASKA
COLORADO
KANSAS
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
Seattle (WEN)
Tacoma (WEN)
Lakewood Center (WEN)
Spokane (WEN)
Yakima (WEN)
Pullman (WEN)
Moscow (RMPCB)
Portland (WEN)
Corvallis
Boise (RMPCB)
Pocatello (RMPCB)
Eureka (WEN)
Redding (WEN)
Sacramento (WEN)
San Francisco (WEN)
San Mateo (WEN)
San Jose (WEN)
Salt Lake City (RMCPB)
Provo (RMCPB)
Denver (RMCPB)
Pueblo (RMCPB)
Las Vegas (WEN)
Los Angeles (WEN)
San Bernardino (WEN)
San Diego (WEN)
Phoenix (RMCPB)
Tucson (RMCPB)
Albuquerque (RMCPB)
Rapid City
Pierre
Aberdeen
Brookings (CEN)
Merriman
Bassett
Alliance
Norfolk
North Platte
Lexington
Hastings
Wichita (CEN)
Oklahoma City (SECA)
Lubbock (SECA)
Killeen
Austin-San Antonio (SECA)
● AT&T INTERCONNECTION POINTS
AT&T EXTENDED ROUND ROBIN
AT&T ROUND ROBIN
AT&T EASTERN AND CENTRAL TIME
AT&T ROCKY MOUNTAIN TIME
AT&T PACIFIC TIME
■ STATE AND PRIVATE INTERCONNECTION POINTS
STATE AND PRIVATE NETWORK

INTERCONNECTION SYSTEM



MAINE
MINNESOTA
WISCONSIN
MICH.
MICHIGAN
IOWA
ILLINOIS
MISSOURI
OHIO
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
WEST VA.
VIRGINIA
MD.
DEL
N.J.
VT.
MASS.
NORTH CAROLINA
KY.
TENNESSEE
ARKANSAS
MISS.
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
LOUISIANA
Duluth (MET)
St. Paul (MET)
Appleton
Green Bay
Madison
Milwaukee (CEN)
Mt. Pleasant (CEN)
University Center (CEN)
Detroit (CEN)
East Lansing (CEN)
Des Moines (CEN)
Iowa City
Vermillion (CEN or MET)
Omaha
Chicago (CEN)
Toledo (CEN)
Cleveland (CEN)
Bowling Green (CEN)
St. John (CEN)
Peoria (CEN)
Urbana (CEN)
Muncie
Indianapolis (CEN)
Oxford (CEN)
Columbus (CEN)
Newark
Cambridge
Athens
Cincinnati (CEN)
Portsmouth
Huntington (FETN)
Beckley (EETN)
Kansas City (CEN)
St. Louis (CEN)
Carbondale (CEN)
Olney
Vincennes (CEN)
Evansville (CEN)
Bloomington (CEN)
Covington
Louisville (SECA)
Lexington (SECA)
Ashland
Morehead
Pikeville
Hazard
Elizabethtown
Madisonville
Murray
Bowling Green
Somerset
Norton
Knoxville (SECA)
Nashville (SECA)
Lexington
Chattanooga (SECA)
Memphis (SECA)
Little Rock (SECA)
Tulsa
Florence
Booneville
Oxford
Huntsville
Cheaha State Park
State College
Birmingham (SECA)
Atlanta (SECA)
Athens
Augusta
Allendale
Chatsworth
Inverness
Jackson (SECA)
Demopolis
Montgomery
Rose Hill
Dozier
Louisville
Pelham
Columbus
Cochran
Dawson
Waycross
Savannah
Mobile
McHenry
Pensacola (SECA)
Tallahassee (SECA)
Jacksonville (SECA)
Gainesville (SECA)
Orlando (SECA)
Tampa (SECA)
Miami (SECA)
New Orleans (SECA)
College Station (SECA)
Houston (SECA)
Topeka
Lincoln
Presque Isle
Calais
Orono
Augusta
Durham (EETN)
Boston (EETN)
Providence (EETN)
Hartford (EETN)
New Haven
Norwich
Bridgeport
Garden City
New York City (EETN)
New Brunswick
Allentown/Bethlehem
Trenton (EETN)
Philadelphia (EETN)
Camden
Wilmington
Baltimore (EETN)
Washington D.C. (EETN)
Salisbury
Plattsburg
Saint Johnsbury
Berlin
Littleton
Hanover
Keene
Springfield
Windsor
Rutland
Burlington
Norwood
Watertown
Syracuse
Schenectady
Rochester
Buffalo
Binghamton
Scranton Wilkes-Barre
Hershey
University Park
Pittsburgh
Alliance
Erie
Morgantown (EETN)
Harrisonburg (SECA)
Richmond (SECA)
Norfolk (SECA)
Roanoke (SECA)
Chapel Hill (SECA)
Greenville
Columbia
Wilmington
Linville
Charlotte (SECA)
Concord
Asheville
Greenville
Florence
Columbia (SECA)
Charleston

CEN - Central Educational Network
EETN - Eastern Educational Television Network
MET - Midwestern Educational Television
RMCPB - Rocky Mountain Corporation for Public Broadcasting
SECA - Southern Educational Communications Association
WEN - Western Educational Network

The designation in ( ) indicates the transmission received during regional transmission hours. No affiliation is necessarily implied.

This map is based on AT & T pricing, and does not necessarily indicate actual routing.

Revised
September, 1971
AL RM DW
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Traditionally, this relationship has performed an important financial service for the station, since the school system pays a per-pupil fee to the station for the programming. Such financial support can represent a substantial portion of a community station's income. It must be kept in mind, too, that some stations are basically arms of school districts or colleges and universities, which have the licenses, and are committed by policy to provide an instructional service.

While there does appear to be some trend away from this station involvement with school systems as a result of such factors as tightening school budgets and a slowly emerging technical complex that promises to permit increasing flexibility of use, such as video cassette and cable interconnection, the existing set of station-school relationships will, for some time, doubtless continue to represent an obstacle to the project operator who is attempting to reach the daytime audience.

THE CLEARANCE PROBLEM

For the PBS, this mosaic of station-school arrangements acts to prevent, or make very difficult, expansion of service in the daytime hours. It must always be remembered that the interconnection system itself has no authority to schedule nationally; it can only propose. The individual station makes the decision whether to air what "comes down the line" or not. There is no point in feeding a program, obviously, if the majority of the stations clearly cannot, or will not, accept it. Here we come to the question of "clearances," which every project operator who attempts to enter the system will quickly encounter.

When the national service is operating within its prescribed schedule limits, the stations anticipate, and plan for, acceptance and transmission of the programs. In commercial parlance, this portion of the schedule is known as "network time." Even in this case, clearance is not necessarily automatic. When a new program is offered, a special scheduled, or a public affairs program that may be too controversial for some stations, an effort is made to feed it down the line before air-time for screening by the stations, who may decide to reject it and replace it with a locally originated program. The screening process is almost mandatory when a program is offered that falls outside of network time.

Clearly, we are dealing with a system of limited capacity. For PBS to carry a program within its nighttime block, it must replace one to which it is already committed. In other words, a new project is forced to seek exposure during a narrow two-hour range that is already committed to the hilt to the competing products of the National Production Centers. In the daytime it faces the resistance of stations and school systems to efforts which, however well-intentioned, can be aired only at the expense of some part of an already existing service.

Outside the interconnection and school periods, there may appear to be opportunity in the remaining station time. This is true. However, the major community stations tend to feel strongly about their general mission to enlighten and enrich the community at large with informational and cultural programming and are reluctant to engage in purely educational services in the evening. Where there are second noncommercial stations in the areas, this limitation is more easily overcome, but since the alternate station tends to be a UHF facility to which specialized formal educational services are allocated, the chances of making a significant audience impact are slim, if such an impact is a goal.

SYNDICATION

If one chooses to enter the system via station time, one must be prepared to adapt the project to the requirements of syndication. A body of station program directors, acting as a committee of the PBS, has the responsibility of screening station program submissions for syndication. Once a program is accepted by this group, it is sent to the duplicating facilities in Bloomington, Indiana, from which the tapes then go forth to enter the syndication "bicycling" process from station to station. Since the group meets only twice a year, six months to a year must be anticipated as the normal waiting period before a program begins to appear in the system as part of the Public Television Library.

The program, then, must be so conceived as to be useful over a long period of time. This effectively rules out topical treatment. It also makes it difficult to cope with subject matter that presumes given social and political conditions. Moreover, the syndication approach restricts promotional opportunities, since the national media are not normally available in any substantial measure, owing to the staggered playing dates and times.

Nevertheless, syndication remains a vital part of the national distribution system. Indeed, before the advent of the interconnection line, it was the basic form of distribution employed by all of noncommercial television. Today, it is also an essential feature of the country's commercial distribution system.

Regardless of whether the method of distribution is syndication or interconnection, the problem remains the same: as presently constituted, the noncommercial system must struggle unceasingly with the unresolved problem of how to accommodate programming to a sharply limited schedule capacity.

STEPS TO TAKE

What does this mean to the project operator, from a practical standpoint?

1. He should check into the realistic prospects for distribution of his program well in advance of production or major organizational commitments.
2. Assuming a reasonable prospect for the desired distribution, he should then set about the task of assuring that the desired station time clearances are obtained.

If the program is accepted for transmission in PBS time, the task is simplified, since that time is already accounted for in the national schedule. But even then, it will not be scheduled unless PBS is convinced it will be acceptable to the stations.

If the program falls into station time, then, depending on whether it is to be distributed by PBS through the interconnection mechanism or syndicated, it will be necessary to convince station program management of the project's worthiness. This assumes critical importance as one moves into the school service period of the schedule.

PBS management is prepared to consult and advise with project planners at the earliest stages, and prefers to do so rather than suffer the embarrassment of having to turn down an ambitious series for which it has no room. The following excerpt from an interview with the president of PBS, Hartford Gunn, reveals the extent of the difficulties all parties involved face as a result of limited system capacity. It is particularly instructive in that it highlights the dilemma in which various parties are caught arising from the technological restrictions afflicting the national system—a dilemma that as yet does not appear readily resolvable despite the willingness of all to make the effort, the funding that may be available, and the impeccable credentials of those who would mount the project.

Mr. Gunn says:

> One would wish that before people spend money on productions they hope public broadcasting will carry, they would consult with us in advance. It's probably the single most important thing they can do. We have so few dollars to spend on quality programming, whether it is instructional or otherwise, that I don't think we can afford duplication—that is, one outfit duplicating what another is already doing.

> And I don't think we can afford to have programs for which we're not able to find the time or not able to get the interest of the individual stations across the country to carry.
>
> It is fundamental to us that we have an opportunity to sit down and discuss with people who want to do something in this field, to discuss what they propose to do and, if it requires our distribution system, to see whether we have the capacity in the times or years for which they plan to make the program available. Then we have to see whether the individual stations have the interest or the capacity to handle it.

CTW's Robert Davidson recalls that he and his colleagues concluded early in their consideration of the Latin-American version of "Sesame Street" that there would probably not be very much interest at the PBS, for reasons which Mr. Gunn goes into below. Nor did they feel the CPB would be seriously concerned. The problem, of course, lies in the limited reach of such a program, given the total audience universe the public system must serve. In addition, the CTW was of the opinion that financing within the system would be difficult to obtain. At the same time, explorations of commercial opportunities indicated that there was perhaps a half-million dollar potential immediately realizable from commercial television stations, although it was also the case that some public television stations, notably in Los Angeles and San Antonio, had expressed serious interest and were willing to back that interest up with cash. When Mr. Gunn visited New York he and Davidson met for an informal conversation, which began with the latter's skeptical question whether the project was at all feasible for PBS. "I don't see how you can get it on the air, particularly clear daytime," Davidson said. Mr. Gunn wondered whether there might be an 8:00 A.M. feed possibility, Mr. Davidson recalls, which interested the Workshop. At the same time, he questioned whether the PBS could meet the financial requirements of the project, since that organization was not a funding institution. By January, 1972, the CTW had not yet been able to resolve its problem with the Latin-American production where United States distribution was concerned. For these and other reasons, the CTW decided to go forward with production without any immediate plans for distribution in the U.S. Mr. Gunn analyzes the difficulties faced by the PBS.

> We have had a very interesting discussion with the Children's Television Workshop about the Spanish-language version of the program. We have a very real problem. We could distribute that program, because we have the time available on the distribution system for it, and we would like to distribute it. But we have the practical problem with our individual stations as to whether or not they can provide five hours a week for the Spanish version of "Sesame Street."
>
> The question comes up: Can they provide the program at a time that is useful to the children who would watch that program? It's perfectly obvious that if we provided it, or the stations carried it, in the 4:00 to 5:00 P.M. period, let's say, it would have to be at the expense of the existing "Sesame Street." But you don't want the stations to remove something you're already doing, so you begin to look around. Well, it could go into the 3:00 to 4:00 P.M. period possibly. But that begins to pose certain problems. Can you distribute it in the morning? Well, the stations can't carry it in the morning hours unless it's in the 8:00 to 9:00 A.M. period. We would have to explore that.
>
> Those are some of the basics that I think have to be addressed as people develop these projects.

LAND: Do you find that the station interest is there?

GUNN: A question is whether they can physically do it. That is, can they handle the taping and playback which this could require—they may not be able to do so. [Mr. Gunn is here referring to the practice of feeding a program on the line for the purpose of taping at the station end for later playback; this involves tape machines, manpower, added costs, and not all stations are adequately equipped or staffed to take full advantage of such a service.]

LAND: How would you find all this out?

GUNN: We have a constant information exchange going on with stations all over, all the time. We have a communications system involving both print duplication and mailing and direct electronic communication to each station across the country. We are always sending them questionnaires asking whether they have any interest in programs.

LAND: Have you done this in the case of the Spanish version of "Sesame Street"?

GUNN: Because the number of areas that would be interested are limited, we have confined our discussion to just telephone or in-person conversations. If it were to be a program that all stations would be interested in, or might be interested in, we would use one of the other methods.

We also have an advisory group. We use the Instructional Television Committee of the NAEB as a regular sounding board. If someone were to bring a proposal to us of something they would like to do, our first step, after evaluating it with our own staff, would be to turn to this advisory committee—made up of managers, program managers and instructional television curriculum people—and say: "What is your advice in this area?"

LAND: Wouldn't you have a rather spotty use of it, in the sense that you don't have Spanish-language stations all over the country or in enough markets of sufficient size to warrant network transmission?

GUNN: We know from our conversations around the system that there are probably a dozen or two dozen stations that would have a genuine interest in this, that would reach probably 60 to 70 percent of all the Spanish-speaking children in this country. And we think that would justify using the line.

We talked to "Sesame Street" about whether it might be possible to have an abbreviated version, rather than do an hour, five days a week. Is it possible to think in terms of a half hour, or in terms of only three programs of an hour each? The "Sesame Street" people are rather unwilling to think in those terms because they maintain that from the standpoint of desirable educational content, it ought to have that full one-hour daily exposure. And this is where you need the conversation.

I think that if we thought we could do it financially and the stations said: "Look, one hour every day for a minority segment of our audience, although a very important minority segment, in terms of the audience, just takes so much time that it reduces the other things that we can do"—I would be prepared to go back and really try to negotiate with the "Sesame Street" people, to see if they couldn't make it a half hour a day. They would have to weigh the educational loss that might occur in a program of only 30 minutes as opposed to 60 minutes. They would have to put that on one side of the scale versus the greatly increased number of stations that would be willing to run a half hour a day as opposed to an hour a day.

So all of this involves trades. This is why such discussion is vital before people get in too deeply. They can have marvelous ideas, and then the system may not be able to digest them.

LAND: Then to go ahead blithely and fund a $5-million dollar project before you explore this is nonsense?

GUNN: Absolutely. You could put a collection of the most marvelous programs on our doorstep and we would find collectively that there is no way for the system to use them. We want Spanish-language programming. We're trying to get stations to produce some for us, and we have stations that want to get Spanish-language programming of real quality and substance on the air. But we've got to get it into a context that the system can cope with, within the terms of a system that is both financially and technologically limited at the moment. It's great to talk in terms of cables and all the wonderful things we're going to be able to do, but I keep saying to people: "Okay, if that's your thinking, then you'll have to put your idea on the shelf for ten years, and then we won't know."

The problem is all solved in cable. The level, or indeed, even the quality of your editorial decisions becomes so much less important as the technology and the finances change access. *It's when you have a knothole that you are trying to force everything through, that things get blown up out of all proportion.*

WORKING DIRECTLY WITH THE STATIONS

Though a PBS is in existence and can be counted on to do much of the work in obtaining station time clearances, it is still useful for the project itself to establish and maintain good station relations. This assumes particular importance when clearances are being sought in day parts normally reserved for school service. The CTW's experience in this connection illustrates both the nature of the problems that are likely to be encountered and the extent and depth of the effort required to overcome them. True, at the time the CTW management went about its clearance campaign, there was no PBS, nor even any assurance of permanent interconnection. Remember that the original distribution plan was based on the syndication concept. Only after the first networking had been set in motion through the efforts of the newly established Corporation for Public Broadcasting in 1969, did it begin to appear likely that interconnection might become more than a sometime reality.

Even with a guaranteed line, assurance of clearance is necessary. Fundamentally, all that interconnection means is a convenient and economical way of electronically transmitting a program to all stations on the hookup at the same time. It does not, by any means, guarantee that all the stations will air at the same time. A station may, indeed, air the program as it comes down the line. It may also elect to tape the feed and play it later that day or on a subsequent day. Or it may reject the program entirely and simply pay no attention to it. If it makes little difference whether the program appears on one or another part of the schedule, then it is primarily promotional concerns that may be seriously involved, since national audience promotion depends in large measure on a program being available simultaneously in most markets. If it is important that the broadcast takes place during a given portion of the schedule, then a vigorous station clearance effort may well be advisable. This was the case with "Sesame Street."

THE REGIONAL NETWORKS

To complicate matters further, there are regional networks in the system. The Eastern Educational Network, the Central Educational Network, the Western Educational Network, the Southern Educational Communications Association, the Rocky Mountain Network, and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

These regional configurations are not necessarily natural geographic and cultural expressions of the areas they serve, except in the broadcast sense, and their activity varies in volume. They represent another set of access points into the system, however, and their possible usefulness should be considered in certain cases. For example, a regionally conceived and produced series would most likely be fed to the stations through these smaller network units.

These complexities are touched on to stress the point that professional knowledge is required at virtually every level in the contemporary television world. It is also necessary to emphasize again the importance of dealing with these matters early in the history of a project. Fortunately, outside of the portions of direct conflict with local school commitments—which may well be a temporary phenomenon—it will probably be unnecessary to go to the extraordinary lengths exemplified in the adventures of Mrs. Cooney and Mr. Davidson.

Oscar the Grouch with "Sesame Street" cast member Bob McGrath.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

WHERE WILL THE MONEY COME FROM—NOW AND IN THE FUTURE?

> "In the history of [educational] television in this country, this is the first time the right management had enough money and lead-time to do something well."
>
> David Davis, Ford Foundation

Workshop principals are quite convinced that, individual talents notwithstanding, adequate funding has been a key element in its success. Some cynics may maintain that it is the chief element. Commercial television people sometimes enviously declare that they have never enjoyed such financial luxury for their own ventures, implying that given the dollar backing they could go and do as well.

Adequate funding meant that New York production costs could be met:

1. The necessary creative talents could be hired;
2. Mrs. Cooney could build the right management team;
3. The high technical quality levels could be achieved and maintained;
4. Sufficient lead-time would be available for planning and preparation;
5. The projected marriage of production and research could be brought off;
6. Promotion and utilization efforts could be undertaken on the indicated level as an integral part of the project from the outset;
7. The problem of program distribution could be tackled constructively, a particularly important consideration in that period before there was any certainty that a network line would be available.

Production costs alone ran $4 million—55 percent of the budget as forecast. This did not include an expenditure of $230,000 for the five pilot, or trial programs, which the Workshop team was prepared to scrap should they fail in either their entertainment or educational mission. Interestingly, this item is budgeted not under production, but research, which accounted for the next largest expenditure, approximately $1 million, or about 16.8 percent of the total. This covered the early goal-setting seminars, the formative and summative research and the testing of the pilot shows.

Approximately 8.4 percent, $600,000, went for the usually neglected aspect of educational television, promotion. The bulk of this—$400,000—for field work in major ghetto cities.

The cost of obtaining distribution, which included the efforts to win clearances over the hurdles of fixed daytime schedules and hard-to-move school systems, came to $500,000, or 7 percent.

Administrative costs consumed 9.8 percent.

If "Sesame Street" has clearly demonstrated what is possible when there is enough money to work with, it has also brought into focus important questions of private and public funding for education through the electronic media. The question every project must grapple with is not just where the money will come from, but, should the project succeed in coming to life, where *sustained* support will be found.

Morrisett, working with the first Cooney estimate of $4 million, was already convinced that foundation support could not be the sole answer to the need for funds. During his ten-year period at the Carnegie Corporation, the largest grant that institution had made to date was approximately $1 million. That represented 33 percent of the Corporation's budget! Obviously, even if somehow the Corporation could find a way to finance the start of the project, it could hardly be expected to sustain such a funding level.

WHERE WILL THE MONEY COME FROM—NOW AND IN THE FUTURE?

While Joan Cooney was developing the project concepts, Morrisett tackled the financing problem. It quickly became apparent that no combination of foundations could meet the need, and that federal funding would be the most promising source. He talked to the Office of Education, the National Science Foundation, the National Institute of Mental Health. Nor did he rule out commercial television, making contact with Group W-Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, Time-Life Broadcasting, NBC and CBS, but with no results. Although his foundation had underwritten the "Public Television" report that was a key element in the passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, and Joan Cooney had just come from that field, neither was necessarily committed to the noncommercial medium. Their fundamental commitment was to the education of children. It still is.

Encouragement came from government, through the then Commissioner of Education Harold Howe and his special assistant for broadcasting, Louis Hausman, who had been an executive of CBS and the first president of the Television Information Office. That interest stimulated Ford Foundation interest.

By that time, however, the additional input of television experts had raised the budget to $8 million. Actually, it only cost CTW $7.2 million and the $800,000 savings were put into year three. It now became evident that only the federal government had the resources needed. As the various commitments began to be made, new questions began to appear. Lloyd Morrisett comments:

> Remember, my experience had been largely in a private foundation, although I had had many dealings over the years with the government. It was quite clear that in project after project, of whatever kind, people felt they were less restricted with a private foundation. Whether in fact they were less restricted, in terms of the decisions they were able to make, the control they had over their own project, the amount of paper work they had to do, the fickleness of decision making, they all felt that on the whole they were better off with a private foundation than with government. So my own experience had all been on the side of people saying: "We'd rather have your money than their money."

It is not so much a question of government as such, but of dependence on one source. From Morrisett's new vantage point as chairman of a going Workshop, there is no question of the value of multiple sources when one is relying on outside funding. To begin with, it permits an organization to allocate expenditures without undue concern for the specific prohibitions of a given funding source. There were things the Workshop had to do with salaries, conferences or consultants, for example, that might or might not have run afoul of particular government regulations. The problem, as Morrisett sees it, is one of accommodating three different fields of endeavor with varying customs and traditions:

> Commercial television—that's where a substantial portion of our creative talent comes from. Academic life—there's where our academic advisors are. Industry and government is the third area we're involved with. It has been necessary to accommodate the traditions and cultures of those three in some way.

The potential difficulty arises from the sensitivity of a given budget to expenditures that are difficult to justify on conventional grounds. For example, government per diem travel expenses are generally regarded as unrealistic, given the practical costs of hotels and meals. Nor does this budget have a category for such a traditional entertainment world ritual as the cocktail party for talent and press.

If you have several funding sources, you can allocate such expenditures to them, thus allowing you to function in the manner the television industry has come to take for granted.

Another problem arises out of timetable differences between federal budgetary processes and production needs. An Office of Education grant, for example, is usually made late in the year with the actual funds unavailable until the following year, depending on how swiftly Congress acts on OE funding. This frequently occurs after the beginning of the fiscal year in which the budget is to be expended, creating difficulties down the line. For an operating organization, this may require borrowing funds early in the year, creating new expense. The government, however, does not accept interest payments as reimbursable expenses.

Similarly, a production company has to commit to animation eight or nine months in advance. When dollar availability is uncertain, the planning process is hurt. Again, diverse funding is the practical solution. Carnegie and Ford have been able to provide funds when needed as part of their grants.

The oft-noted concern with "insulating" a production operation from the funding source may appear excessive. But it is there. It is real. And it is pervasive. For those who are planning to enter the competition for such funds, this suggests structuring the proposed organization so as to be able to demonstrate to would-be creative staff people that they will not be subject to outside pressures. Otherwise, the argument goes, the most competent people will not join you. This theme was almost a test-motif of the interviews.

Joan Cooney talks of the Workshop's relations with funding sources:

> What Lloyd fought for—and had the power and foresight to accomplish from the beginning—was insulation of this project from its funding sources. We never had government people around here in spite of the fact that 50 percent of our funds came from that source. We never had Carnegie or Ford people here, though we reported to them. We certainly treated them properly. What we said and what Lloyd said to them was: "We will hand you a proposal. We will work with you on that proposal, until you are satisfied with those budgets, but once they are okayed, then these people are on their own until the show goes on the air."
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> That is *critically* important. . . . We even won the right to our own copyright. The government has granted to us 100 percent of any royalties that we make from products, because they want to see us become self-supporting. Otherwise you cannot get first-rate people like Dave Connell, Jon Stone, Sam Gibbon, and Tom Kennedy—and in the long pull almost everybody here. They're not going to work for a company where they are being harassed and there is no chance of independence, of feeling that you can turn your company into a viable company. *Those things sound peripheral, but they are central, and they were always built into this organization.* They were built in by Morrisett. He and Commissioner Howe understood totally—with a lot of help from Lou Hausman.
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> If you want to do a good thing, you have to provide adequate resources, but even insulated from you, who are the giver. I am not suggesting that one be irresponsible in giving, particularly with public money. I am suggesting that the people in government agencies are not producers of television shows. There are ways to maintain a good relationship. We give them quarterly reports and we have always stayed in very close touch. But they do not try to strangle us. They never have. They have been extremely statesmanlike with us.

WHERE WILL THE MONEY COME FROM—NOW AND IN THE FUTURE?

Similar concerns have led the CTW to change its relationship with the Corporation for Public Broadcasting from grant to contract. The contract calls for delivery of a certain number of programs for a period of time in return for a stipulated sum. It also guarantees exclusive television rights in cities where there are public television outlets. The contract arrangement protects the operational flexibility of the CTW in areas that are important to it, such as in distribution. For example, it does not have to check with the Corporation, as it probably would have to under a grant relationship, if it wants to explore cable possibilities.

THE SEARCH FOR NEW SUPPORT

Neither Morrisett nor Cooney had any illusions when they began permanent foundation funding. A foundation tends to see itself as a "seeding" institution. It exists to encourage new ideas and socially useful projects that may not be supportable when it seeks to become more than just an idea through the normal industrial process. Once the project has proven itself, the foundation prefers to pull away and seed other projects.

Similarly, there is always uncertainty where government financing is concerned, owing to the annual appropriation and Congressional review pattern. In the CTW case there was also a desire to limit the proportion of such financing.

For these reasons the Workshop top management has been active from the start in searching for other ways to support itself. Says Morrisett:

> From the beginning we have gone under the assumption that we could not count on continued foundation support in the long run. We'd had Carnegie Corporation support for three years. In something like a period of three to five years, it was unlikely we could count on any part of foundation funding. Once the project became successful, we were convinced that we had to find ways of generating income of our own. We would also like to diminish the government's share of that to as little as possible. If we could become completely self-supporting, that would be what we would want to do.

Already, the Ford Foundation is reported to be discussing how it can conclude its financial aid to the CTW, now that the organization has been successfully launched. It is expected to provide a final grant to be used to set up an endowment fund for CTW. And as Morrisett points out, it is only realistic to anticipate some similar withdrawal by the Carnegie Corporation.

Given a desired maximum level of government involvement of 33-1/3 percent, which is the proportion the Workshop management feels is proper, where are the remaining funds to come from? Possible sources are:

1. sale of program distribution rights to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting;
2. grants by industry;
3. sales of non-broadcast materials;
4. sales of programs and program rights to other countries;
5. proceeds from endowment fund, should one be established.

THE CPB FUTURE

Support from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting runs now at the million-dollar level. As the institution established by Congress to funnel financial support to the non-commercial medium, it would appear to be the ideal instrument to assist the CTW over the long run. It is beset with problems, however, stemming from an uncertain political and monetary future. In the latter part of 1971 there was as yet no indication that the Congress and the administration would succeed in passing legislation aimed at permanent financing, nor was there any way to anticipate what its own future funding level would be. The problem of the CTW in this connection is the problem of all non-commercial broadcasting, which finds itself in an arena of competition for a very limited money supply. At press time, the Workshop was still attempting to negotiate a Corporation for Public Broadcasting commitment to purchase exclusive U.S. broadcast rights to "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company" for two years at $5 million per year with an expressed desire to extend the commitment an additional three years.

INDUSTRY SUPPORT

During the second year, Quaker Oats and General Mills offered to underwrite additional weekend broadcasts. Industry support of the CTW has been slight. In 1971, Mobil Oil granted $250,000 for distribution of the "Sesame Street" magazine to parents in the disadvantaged areas. In 1972 that grant is being renewed, but is earmarked by the donor for general support.

Just how far the Workshop can go in raising funds from industry is a question. To begin with, it is in competition with the public television medium nationally for such assistance. The history of such support does not indicate that a high level of funding is probably realizable in the foreseeable future.

NONBROADCAST MATERIALS

In her early dream-work, Joan Cooney envisioned a "multimedia" institution that would create materials in all forms for children. It was not to be limited to television necessarily. As the Workshop assumed a real shape, and "Sesame Street" captured the national imagination, it inevitably attracted the attention of children's book publishers, record companies and manufacturers of toys who saw in it an unusual opportunity for commercial exploitation. This presented both an opportunity and a problem for the CTW.

The opportunity is obvious. Children's toys, books and records are a big business in the United States. By permitting use of the program name on a royalty basis and going into joint ventures with commercial organizations, the Workshop stands to earn substantial sums. At the same time, it is a nonprofit institution with a purely social, noncommercial aim. It must rule out commercial exploitation, as such, particularly in view of its clear dedication to the children of the poor. The moment one permits the sale of products tied in with the programs, the problem of protecting the integrity of the organization and its purpose appears.

The problems are not easily resolved. Management, however, sees in this area its greatest prospect of putting the Workshop on a solid, permanent financial footing, and is therefore quite prepared to make the attempt to develop its nonbroadcast materials activities. Actually, they serve a double purpose: not only do they provide income; they become important elements in the reinforcement and utilization programs.

To develop this end of the enterprise, the Workshop has established a new department, the nonbroadcast materials division, and has brought in a young man named Chris Cerf to head it as director and editor-in-chief. Working with him is marketing specialist Jeannette Neff.

A year and a half preparation had gone into the issuance of the first nonbroadcast materials just being issued at the time of meeting with Cerf [October, 1971]. The steps were similar to those taken for "Sesame Street": a feasibility inquiry, seminars with a subcommittee of the CTW advisory board plus new advisors, establishing of educational goals in terms of nonbroadcast materials, testing various approaches, determining staff requirements, finally going into actual production.

Although the products have just begun to appear and everything is considered quite experimental, the early indications suggest that an explosive new area of activity has been entered. Indeed, potentially, the Workshop's impact on the national diet of children's books and the toys devoted parents purchase for their youngsters may be greater than the effect of "Sesame Street" itself on television.

In just a few weeks, in the fall of 1971, Western Publishing Company, which issues the famous Golden Books, sold between six and seven million copies of its new series based on "Sesame Street"—the greatest volume in its history!

Columbia Records last year sold over one million albums of "Sesame Street" songs. This year, Warner Brothers has agreed to distribute "Sesame Street" records with a mass market in mind. It will also distribute free to radio stations a record of "The Electric Company" theme.

Cerf and Jeannette Neff have been busy exploring nonconventional avenues of print and audiovisual distribution, just as the television side had to find ways to promote to the black and Puerto Rican areas. They are looking to supermarkets, department stores, retail chains, even direct mail, as ways of overcoming the limitation of conventional bookstore distribution, which is virtually nonexistent in the disadvantaged areas.

The division's purpose in life is to create and distribute nonbroadcast materials which will be designed with "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company" curriculum goals as their base. They will be distributed as widely as possible, with special emphasis on the disadvantaged, and will be therefore priced as low as is possible, consistent with the cost. These aims are sometimes in conflict, obviously, and are not always easily reconciled.

A survey by staff member Madeline Akel in several cities and rural areas on what books attract children and buying patterns of parents in this connection revealed:

"Sesame Street" moves beyond the TV screen with an unusual new line of educational books and playthings developed by Children's Television Workshop. Designed and researched for home use, the puppets, puzzles, books and other activity items are intended to supplement and expand on its educational goals, teaching preschool children at the same time as it entertains them.

1. the book that permits the child to participate physically in some fashion is the most popular with children, such as popup books;
2. over 30 percent of inner-city parents buy an average of three books per year for their preschool children;
3. in many cases, books are unfamiliar objects to preschool children;
4. inner-city parents spend more on toys than do others. They consider them to have educational value and that they are helping the child. In the Christmas period, they spend about $25 for this purpose, on the average;
5. many toys considered to be educational prove to be uninteresting to children.

In striking parallel with the television situation, commercial books and toys considered as educational tools are not designed from a specific curriculum standpoint. CTW's appearance in these areas with a curriculum strategy as the materials base alters practice profoundly. It makes possible the same kind of research and testing of appeal and effectiveness that proved so meaningful for the development of "Sesame Street." Dr. Palmer's department, indeed, is busy developing new research techniques to meet the new needs created by the materials' goals.

David Connell (Executive Producer), Christopher Cerf (Director of Non-Broadcast Division) and Cliff Roberts (SS cartoonist), look over "Sesame Street" cartoons in CTW office.

The division's activities are in such flux, are so experimental at this stage, that a detailed description of products being developed and methods of operation would not be of much value at this early stage. What may be of value is an account of the thinking that guides its relationships with the outside suppliers who are vital to the process.

As 1971 moved toward its close, the nonbroadcast materials division appeared as a small section guiding the efforts of the staffs of outside companies working together with the Workshop's own creative people in a series of commercial ventures involving marketing relationships. From among the numerous companies that wish to work with the Workshop, Cerf selects those which have the creative and merchandising strength and a compatibility with the CTW. The "chemistry" is important, in his opinion. Basically, this refers to the company's willingness to think in terms of the Workshop curriculum goals, its sympathy for what the CTW is trying to do. Some companies, apparently, find it difficult to adjust to this new way of thinking.

Where the creative staff of the outside organization is strong, the Workshop will present its goals for the specific item and the actual product design and preparation will be the sole responsibility of the commercial house. In other cases, as with books written and designed by Jon Stone and Workshop artists, the commercial company will serve to manufacture and distribute. In other cases, the CTW artists will be responsible for design of some things conceived by the outside organization.

The usual book or toy contract calls for a payment to CTW of a proprietary royalty equal to about 50 percent of pre-tax profit. A comic strip contract provides a royalty of 75 percent to CTW. Under terms of the records distribution arrangement with Warner Brothers, the Workshop will receive a flat royalty of 75 cents a record—its return per record last year was between 50 and 60 cents.

The CTW negotiates for the lowest possible manufacturers' cost and hopes this will keep the retail price as low as possible, which means that the commercial houses must be prepared to earn a smaller per unit profit than they would normally earn in a standard commercial situation. Their willingness to go along with CTW demands indicates an optimistic view of the marketing prospects. Possibly indicative too, is the willingness of these companies to accept rigid standards and CTW control over content, design, pricing and distribution. In addition, the Workshop reserves the right to order changes, as research findings suggest may be in order. This may mean that a particular book may be discontinued or changed in the next edition, a portion of a game eliminated or altered, and so forth. Obviously, such midstream changes mean added costs of production and distribution as well as new complications, but the companies seem ready to live with them.

Cerf sees an even greater opportunity for nonbroadcast materials with "The Electric Company" than with "Sesame Street," for its single purpose is to help the child to learn to read. Already there is an enormous amount of activity stirring in the creative ranks outside and inside, seeking to find new and imaginative ways to build on the foundation laid by "The Electric Company."

It is difficult to estimate the future income that may be derived from nonbroadcast materials sources, but it is safe enough to conclude even now that there is a major potential. Cerf, trying to control his enthusiasm, predicts that by June, 1972, at least a million dollars will come into Workshop coffers as a result of the efforts of his division.

All signs suggest that the division is merely at the beginning of a period of highly creative, original activity with immense potential for the Workshop itself and the nation as a whole. Cerf was planning, for example, to announce curriculum goals publicly to commercial suppliers of print and audiovisual materials, in the hope of stimulating fresh and innovative efforts. The record so far suggests that these industries will respond.

"SESAME STREET" ROUND THE WORLD

Where others talk of the power of communications to bind a world together, the Children's Television Workshop finds itself acting on an international scale as country after country expresses interest in carrying "Sesame Street" and in creating its own version. The CTW has signed agreements with West Germany, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Virgin Islands, Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Zambia, Ethiopia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Taipei, Thailand, Japan, Korea, Philippines, and Gilbraltar. By June, 1972, it expects to conclude contracts with Spain, Portugal, the Scandinavian countries. Arrangements have been completed to air "Sesame Street" on all American broadcast stations throughout the world.

Soon the program will be seen across Latin America. The Spanish-language "Plaza Sesamo" is produced in Mexico City by a Latin-American group on the basis of the procedures adapted from the American experience: A seminar was held in Caracas for Latin-American experts in education and television to decide curriculum for the Latin countries. Research and production are wedded as in the "Sesame Street" case. This past fall, a Colombian television researcher was spending six weeks as a resident observer in the CTW research department. Additionally, a Portuguese version will be produced at the same time as the Spanish version, and a German version has started production and will be broadcast in Germany and Austria in the Fall of 1973.

The Workshop makes both the entire program and segments available to other countries under a licensed arrangement. There are ten usable hours for international use, with an estimated repeat factor of eight, for a total of 80 hours. Foreign producers are doing animation of their own. Distribution of tapes is handled from London by London-Television Enterprises, which services Europe, Africa and Asia, saving the CTW the cost of setting up its own distribution organization.

The CTW venture abroad has introduced the staff to a new level of complexity involving many nationalities and cultures, not to speak of languages. Its social orientation leads the management to feel that if there is a role that Workshop productions can play in benefiting the children of the world, that justifies the involvement, even where there appears little likelihood for profitable enterprise. They have therefore attempted to make "Sesame Street" available to the underprivileged areas at nominal fees. In black Africa, for example, there are only 250,000 television sets. The international department is working on a project whose purpose is to call together the ministers of information in the countries of that part of the world in order to find ways to obtain community sets.

Already the cultural implications of foreign interest in "Sesame Street" are evident. Germany, for example, intends to broadcast the program in its original English-language form for a full season before starting production of a German version. The academic community is of the opinion that the American original will help viewers learn English. Caribbean response to "Sesame Street" unexpectedly revealed it to be seen there as not limited to preschoolers in its interest and value. Such was its impact in Trinidad and Curacao that those two areas are establishing their own educational TV stations.

Peter Orton, who directs the international program sales, reporting to vice-president for special projects, Michael Dann, points to the video cassette as a future possible major source of funds. A similar observation is voiced by nonbroadcast materials head Chris Cerf. Orton sees cassette versions being made up in five or six languages. In particular, he looks to Japan as the possible first major breakthrough country in this regard. The United States and Japan now control about 70 percent of the market in video tapes. Europe is about three years behind, in his opinion.

As with nonbroadcast materials, the actual dollar possibilities are difficult to estimate. There is little question in CTW minds, however, that they justify the effort. In addition to serving as a communications bridge between nations, "Sesame Street" this past year brought $400,000 to the CTW. Orton thinks that foreign distribution might net about $1 million dollars in two to three years' time.

Here it may be well to remind those who are dreaming of CTW-like undertakings that all of this mushrooming international activity is a consequence of one hard truth—the extraordinary *domestic success* of "Sesame Street," its achievement as one of the great "hits" in television history. Given the contemporary interchange among communications systems, an intense foreign interest in the series was inevitable. In other words, there is no value in planning for worldwide distribution until the first hurdle has been surmounted: fashioning a successful television show and winning acceptance for it on the American scene. That is where the energies should be directed.

CHAPTER TWELVE

COMMENT—THE WORKSHOP IN PERSPECTIVE

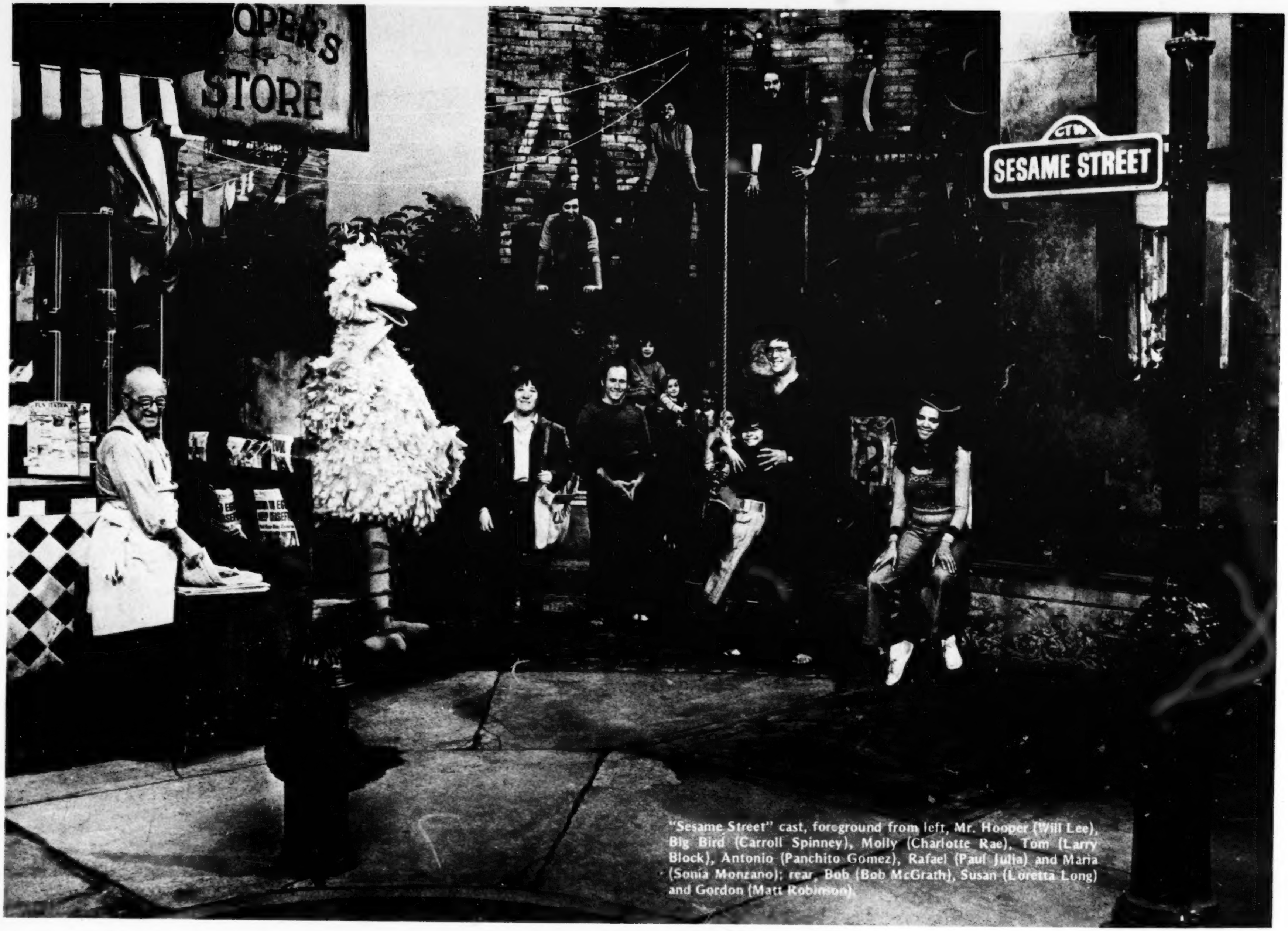
The Children's Television Workshop is a going concern. It has proven that education and television can work together as partners, that communications technology can be harnessed for social good on a massive scale. And it has shown how.

Visualize the continental land mass of the United States, distant Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico. From the viewpoint of educational technology, it may all be considered one national electronic matrix. A new kind of schooling has been created within that matrix. Its buildings are homes; its classrooms, living rooms and viewing centers; the educational conduits, television screens. The matrix is energized by a generating force comprising creative skills, competent management and substantial resources. That force and its amazing success point to a future rich in the imaginative development of the matrix to the benefit of millions, whose lives will be immeasurably enriched.

The immense opportunities are implicit in the fact that "Sesame Street" itself has proven able to reach millions of homes, where it has been found to function with exciting effectiveness as an educational instrument. This means that untold numbers of children are coming into school better prepared than they might have been had they never been exposed to the program. They come from the inner cities, from among the poor, the black, the Spanish-speaking, from the remote hills and farms. Who can say how many human lives have already been profoundly changed by this experience, how many will perhaps now achieve adult fulfillment as a result?

The CTW has shown the way to others, generously and openly. But first things come first. Before the rush to explore the revolutionary possibilities of full development of the electronic matrix gets under way, it may be well to note that the CTW is just at the beginning of its usefulness. Whether this single institution can follow its own destiny all the way is by no means an answered question. It still must solve the problem of sustaining itself financially over the long run and is mounting imaginative efforts to find solutions.

Given the central problem of survival, which will plague all future organizations that draw their inspiration from its achievement, the primary national requirement appears evident. The starting point of any significant national effort to enlarge upon the accomplishments of the Children's Television Workshop is a determination to build that institution into a secure and permanent feature of the American educational scene. Only when that has been done will the model be complete.


OPER'S
STORE
CTW
SESAME STREET

"Sesame Street" cast, foreground from left, Mr. Hooper (Will Lee), Big Bird (Carroll Spinney), Molly (Charlotte Rae), Tom (Larry Block), Antonio (Panchito Gomez), Rafael (Paul Julia) and Maria (Sonia Monzano); rear, Bob (Bob McGrath), Susan (Loretta Long) and Gordon (Matt Robinson).

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LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

CTW STAFF INTERVIEWED FOR STUDY

Brenda Belton—Field Services
Carol Brooks—Utilization
Christopher Cerf—Director, Non-Broadcast Division
David D. Connell—Vice-President, Executive Producer
Joan Ganz Cooney—President
Michael H. Dann—Vice-President, Special Projects
Robert Davidson—Secretary and Director of Development
Evelyn P. Davis—Vice-President, Community Relations
Richard de Felice—Finance
Lynne de Vries—Assistant to the President
Robert A. Hatch—Vice-President, Information
Patricia Hayes—Research
Martin Healy—Finance
Lutrelle Horne—Producer, International Division; former Studio Producer, "Sesame Street"
Dee Kellet—Administrative Assistant to President
Thomas P. Kennedy—Vice-President, Finance and Administration
Sharon Lerner—Research
Dr. Gerald S. Lesser—Chairman, Board of Advisors
Jason L. Levine—Director of Information
Joan Lufrano—Associate Producer
Lloyd N. Morrisett—Chairman, Board of Trustees
Jeffrey Moss—Head Writer, "Sesame Street"
Peter Orton—International Program Sales
Dr. Edward L. Palmer—Vice-President, Research
Vivian Riley—Utilization
Kathy Roberts—Information Assistant
Charlie Smith—Director, Field Services
Jon Stone--Producer, "Sesame Street"
Ronald L. Weaver—Director of Operations
Joyce Weil—Non-Broadcast Research

OTHERS INTERVIEWED FOR STUDY

David Davis—Ford Foundation
James Day—President, Educational Broadcasting Corporation
Hartford Gunn—President, Public Broadcasting System
Sam Holt—Program Coordinator, Public Broadcasting System
Claire List—Ford Foundation, CTW Project Officer
John F. White—President, The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art; former President, National Educational Television